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PIETRO LORENZETTI

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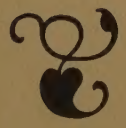
PIETRO LORENZETTI

BY

E. T. DeWALD



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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. *Arezzo. Sta. Maria della Pieve. Altarpiece. Pietro Lorenzetti, 1320* 3
2. *Arezzo. Sta. Maria della Pieve. Altarpiece (detail). Pietro Lorenzetti* 4
3. *Arezzo. Sta. Maria della Pieve. Altarpiece. St. John the Baptist. Pietro Lorenzetti* 4
4. *Arezzo. Sta. Maria della Pieve. Altarpiece. St. Matthew. Pietro Lorenzetti* 4
5. *Arezzo. Sta. Maria della Pieve. Altarpiece. St. John the Evangelist. Pietro Lorenzetti* 6
6. *Arezzo. Sta. Maria della Pieve. Altarpiece (detail). St. Donatus. Pietro Lorenzetti* 6
7. *Arezzo. Sta. Maria della Pieve. Altarpiece (detail). The Annunciation. Pietro Lorenzetti* 6
8. *Arezzo. Sta. Maria della Pieve. Altarpiece (detail). The Assumption of the Virgin. Pietro Lorenzetti* 8
9. *Siena. S. Ansano a Dofana. The Carmelite Madonna. Pietro Lorenzetti, 1329* 8

9A. *S. Ansano a Dofana. Carmelite Madonna after recent restoration (Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library)* 8

9B. *S. Ansano a Dofana. Madonna and Child. Detail from the Carmelite Madonna (Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library)* 8

9C. *S. Ansano a Dofana. Detail of the Madonna and Child from the Carmelite Madonna (Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library)* 8

9D. *S. Ansano a Dofana. St. Nicholas. Detail from the Carmelite Madonna (Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library)* 8

9E. *S. Ansano a Dofana. Elijah, repainted as St. Anthony the Abbot Detail from the Carmelite Madonna (Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library)* 8

9F. *S. Ansano a Dofana. Angels. Detail from the Carmelite Madonna (Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library)* 8

9G. *S. Ansano a Dofana. Angels. Detail from the Carmelite Madonna (Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library)* 8

10. *Siena. Accademia, 83. Vision of Sobach. Pietro Lorenzetti* 8
11. *Siena. Accademia, 83. Honorius IV approves Carmelite Rule. Pietro Lorenzetti* 8
12. *Siena. Accademia, 84. Fountain of Helias. Pietro Lorenzetti* 10
13. *Siena. Accademia, 84. Honorius IV orders the White Habit. Pietro Lorenzetti* 10
14. *Altenburg. Lindenau Museum. Madonna and Child. Pietro Lorenzetti (Courtesy of Dr. Adolph Goldschmidt, Berlin)* 10
15. *Altenburg. Lindenau Museum. The Dead Christ. Pietro Lorenzetti (Courtesy of Dr. Adolph Goldschmidt, Berlin)* 10
16. *Florence. Uffizi. Madonna and Child. Pietro Lorenzetti, 1340* 10

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

17. *Florence. Uffizi. Madonna and Child (detail). Pietro Lorenzetti* 12
18. *Florence. Uffizi. Detail of Angels. Pietro Lorenzetti* 12
19. *Siena. Opera del Duomo. Nativity of the Virgin. Pietro Lorenzetti, 1342* 12
20. *Siena. Opera del Duomo. Nativity of the Virgin (detail). Pietro Lorenzetti* 14
21. *Cortona. Cathedral. Madonna and Child. Pietro Lorenzetti* 14
22. *Montichiello. S. Leonardo e S. Cristoforo. Madonna and Child. Pietro Lorenzetti. (Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library)* 14
23. *Florence. Horne Collection. St. Benedict, St. Catherine, St. Margaret. Pietro Lorenzetti* 16
24. *Le Mans. Museum. St. Margaret (?). Pietro Lorenzetti* 16
25. *Assisi. Lower church. Madonna, St. Francis and St. John the Evangelist. Pietro Lorenzetti* 16
26. *Cortona. S. Marco. Crucifix. Pietro Lorenzetti* 18
27. *Philadelphia. Johnson Collection. Madonna and Child with donor. Angels added from Carl Hamilton Collection, New York City. Pietro Lorenzetti* 18
28. *Siena. Accademia. Sts. Thaddeus and Bartholomew. Pietro Lorenzetti* 18
29. *Siena. Accademia. Sts. Thomas and James. Pietro Lorenzetti* 20
30. *Siena. Accademia. St. Bartholomew. Pietro Lorenzetti, 1332* 20
31. *Siena. Accademia. St. Cecilia. Pietro Lorenzetti, 1332* 20
32. *Siena. Accademia. St. John the Baptist. Pietro Lorenzetti, 1332* 20
33. *Siena. Accademia. Sts. Agnes and Catherine. Pietro Lorenzetti* 20
34. *Rome. Vatican Gallery. St. Peter. Pietro Lorenzetti* 22
35. *Rome. Vatican Gallery. St. John the Baptist. Pietro Lorenzetti* 22
36. *New York. Metropolitan Museum. St. Catherine. Pietro Lorenzetti* 22
37. *Lastra a Signa. Perkins Collection. Female saint. Pietro Lorenzetti* 24
38. *Florence. Sta. Lucia tra le Rovinate. St. Lucy. Pietro Lorenzetti* 24
39. *Castiglion d'Orcia. S. Stefano. Madonna and Child. Pietro Lorenzetti (Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library)* 24
40. *Lastra a Signa. Perkins Collection. Madonna and Child. Pietro Lorenzetti (Courtesy of Mr. F. Mason Perkins and the Frick Art Reference Library)* 26
41. *Florence. Serristori Collection. Madonna and Child. Pietro Lorenzetti (Courtesy of Mr. Richard Offner)* 26
42. *Siena. San Francesco. Crucifixion. Pietro Lorenzetti* 28
43. *Siena. San Francesco. Refectory. Christ Risen. Pietro Lorenzetti* 28
44. *Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. The Entry into Jerusalem. Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti* 28
45. *Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. The Last Supper. Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti* 28
46. *Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. The Washing of the Apostles' Feet. Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti* 28
47. *Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. The Betrayal. Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti* 28
48. *Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. The Flagellation. Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti* 30

49. *Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. The Road to Calvary. Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti* 30
50. *Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. Crucifixion. Pietro Lorenzetti and Follower* 30
51. *Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. Detail of Crucifixion. Pietro Lorenzetti* 30
52. *Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. The Deposition. Pietro Lorenzetti* 32
53. *Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. The Entombment. Pietro Lorenzetti* 32
54. *Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. The Descent to Hell. Pietro Lorenzetti* 32
55. *Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. The Resurrection. Pietro Lorenzetti* 32
56. *Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. Sts. Nicholas and Catherine. Pietro Lorenzetti* 32
57. *Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. Sts. Afra and Margaret. Pietro Lorenzetti* 32
58. *Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. Stigmatisation of St. Francis. Pietro Lorenzetti* 34
59. *Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. Madonna with St. Francis and St. John the Baptist. Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti* 34
60. *Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. Detail from Madonna fresco (see fig. 25) before and after repainting* 34
61. *Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. Comparative details from the Entry into Jerusalem (left) and the Madonna fresco in the north transept chapel (right)* 34
62. *New York. Collection of Mrs. Goodhart* 34
63. *Siena. Accademia. Luca di Tomè* 34
64. *Boston Museum. Niccolo di Buonaccorso* 34
65. *Ovile Master. Enthroned Madonna. S. Pietro, Ovile, Siena* 36
66. *Ovile Master. Enthroned Madonna. No. 76. Belle Arti, Siena* 36
67. *Ovile Master. Enthroned Madonna. No. 80. Belle Arti, Siena* 36
68. *Ovile Master. Assumption of the Virgin. Belle Arti, Siena* 36
69. *Siena. Accademia. Detail of Assumption (61) by the Ovile Master (Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library)* 36
70. *Siena. Accademia. Detail of Assumption (61). Ovile Master (Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library)* 38
71. *Cambridge. Fogg Museum. Detail of Nativity. Ovile Master (Courtesy of Fogg Art Museum)* 38
72. *Cambridge. Fogg Museum. Detail from The Nativity. Ovile Master (Courtesy of Fogg Art Museum)* 38
73. *Cambridge. Fogg Museum. Detail from The Nativity. Ovile Master (Courtesy of Fogg Art Museum)* 38
74. *Milan. Poldi Pezzoli. Madonna and Saints. Master of the Dijon triptych* 38
75. *Siena. Accademia. Paolo di Giovanni Fei* 38
76. *Perugia. Pinacoteca* 38

77. *Dijon. Museum. Triptych. Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti* 38
78. *Dijon. Museum. Detail. Madonna and Saints. Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti* 38
79. *Dijon. Museum. Triptych, left wing, Gabriel, St. Christopher, and Christ Child. Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti* 38
80. *Dijon. Museum. Triptych, right wing, The Virgin Annunciate, and The Crucifixion. Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti* 38
81. *Settignano. Berenson Collection. Madonna and Child. Master of the Dijon triptych* 38
82. *Florence. Loeser Collection. Madonna and Child. Master of the Dijon triptych* 38
83. *London. National Gallery. Christian saints before a Roman tribunal. Master of the Dijon triptych* 38
84. *Rome. Vatican Gallery. Christ before Pilate. Master of the Dijon triptych* 38
85. *Münster in Westphalia. University Museum. Master of the Dijon triptych (Courtesy of Dr. Adolph Goldschmidt, Berlin)* 38
86. *Princeton. Collection of F. J. Mather, Jr. Bottega of the Dijon master (?) (Courtesy of Dr. F. J. Mather, Jr.)* 38
87. *Florence. Uffizi. Altarpiece of the Beata Umiltà* 38
88. *Berlin. Kaiser Friedrich Museum. Panel from Umiltà altarpiece, Florence* 38
89. *Berlin. Kaiser Friedrich Museum. Panel from Umiltà altarpiece, Florence* 38
90. *Siena. Accademia, 92. Allegory of the Cross* 38
91. *Siena. Accademia, 92. Detail showing Creation and Expulsion scenes, and murder of Abel (Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library)* 38
92. *Siena. Accademia, 92. Detail (Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library)* 38
93. *Siena. Accademia, 92. Detail with abbreviated Last Judgment (Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library)* 38
94. *Siena. Accademia. View of a city* 38
95. *Siena. Accademia. View of a country estate* 38
96. *Siena. Sta. Maria dei Servi. Dance of Salome* 38
97. *Siena. Sta. Maria dei Servi. Assumption of St. John the Evangelist* 38
98. *Siena. Sta. Maria dei Servi. Slaughter of the Innocents* 38
99. *New York. Collection of Felix Warburg. Triptych. St. Mary Magdalen (Courtesy of Mr. Felix Warburg)* 38
100. *New York. Collection of Felix Warburg. Triptych. Madonna and Child (Courtesy of Mr. Felix Warburg)* 38
101. *New York. Collection of Felix Warburg. Triptych. St. Catherine (Courtesy of Mr. Felix Warburg)* 38

PIETRO LORENZETTI

1. Arezzo. Sta. Maria della Pieve. Altarpiece. Pietro Lorenzetti, 1320

PIETRO LORENZETTI[1]

I

By the year 1300, Gothic art had passed its first great monumental moment in France and was entering upon a gayer and more decorative period which betrayed its lack of religious sincerity and its superficiality. Not so Italy. Starting with a stronger classic background than the north, Italy was affected by the powerful artistic influences which came from Byzantium and the Slavic countries and, in a lesser degree, by those which came from the Ottonian monasteries of the Rhine and Bavaria. This mélange, to which Saracenic elements were also added in the south, was not conducive to the development of a virile style. In fact, art in Italy during the early Middle Ages was in a rather dormant state. Nor was Italy with its predilection for Byzantine forms a particularly receptive or fertile ground for the growth of Gothic ideas in art.

And yet, things were beginning to happen in Italy during the thirteenth century, whether as a reflex of the general stir made elsewhere in Europe by the Gothic movement or as the result of more local initiative. First of all there was the classic revival at the court of Frederic the Second with its resultant effect on Niccolò Pisano. Then, the actual appearance of French Gothic elements in the sculpture of Giovanni Pisano and his school. The latter phenomenon was rather the natural consequence of at least two things. The one was the growing activity of Italian, and particularly of Sienese, merchants and bankers at the fairs of France;[2] which brought French merchandise and taste to Italy. The other was the establishment of French Cistercian monasteries on Italian soil, which brought with it an importation of French cult objects and service books. San Galgano near Siena, and Fossanuova and Casamari nearer Rome were the most important of these foundations.

The Gothic manifestations in the art of Italy at this time were, however, frankly importations and were slow to take root. This was especially true of painting where the old Byzantine traditions were much too tough to be dis-

[1] I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Frank J. Mather, Jr., under whose inspiration and encouragement this study was begun, and to my colleague Prof. George Rowley for many helpful suggestions.

[2] Bourquelot, *Études sur les Foires de Champagne*, in *Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie*, 2d series, tom. V (1865); Paoli, *Siena alle Fiere di Sciampagna*, in *Conferenze della Comm. Sen. di Stor. Patria* (Siena, 1898); Schaube, *Ein Italienischer Coursbericht von der Messe von Troyes*, in *Zeitschrift für Social und Wirtschaftgeschichte*, (1897), vol. V, fasc. 3; Sanesi, *Il Testamento di un Prestatore Senese nella Champagna*. See Scheville, *Siena* (New York, 1919), p. 98, note; Douglas, *History of Siena* (New York, 1902), p. 34, note 2.

lodged so easily. But toward the end of the century Gothic elements were already there. The heavy drapery of Cavallini with its cascading parallel folds betrays them. Similarly are they found in Duccio, though one is apt to overlook them in view of his overwhelmingly Byzantinized types and layout. Giotto shows them more clearly, though Giovanni Pisano is generally held chiefly responsible for the Gothic elements in Giotto's style. Everywhere Gothic architectural forms are manifesting themselves in the frames of altarpieces where the Byzantine panel forms suggestive of enamel plaques still persist.

With the beginning of the fourteenth century, Siena seems to have taken the lead in the adoption of the Gothic style, particularly its decorative phase. The nearness of the French Cistercian colony at San Galgano unquestionably contributed to this Gothic interest as did also the presence of Sienese artists at the Papal court at Avignon. In Simone Martini these decorative Gothic forms have their first great champion in Italian painting, and from that time on become more usual.

It was at the time of this delayed tide of Gothic influences which followed closely in the wake of Byzantine traditions and still mingled with them, that Pietro Lorenzetti began his activities at Siena.

Information about medieval artists is always rather sparse. Pietro Lorenzetti is no exception to the rule. The information we possess about him is drawn in part from certain documents most of which are contracts for paintings, in part from signed works, and in part from Vasari's account of his life, which latter is to be perused with the usual allowance for that biographer's imagination when reconstructing an artist's life at long distance. The evidence from the other two sources is as follows.

The earliest document generally interpreted as referring to Pietro is dated 1305/1306 in which a certain Petruccio di Lorenzo [1] receives a sum of money for some painting on an altarpiece done for the Council of the Nine at Siena. The sum allotted him has been variously read to be either 110 lire or one lira 20 soldi [2] according to the importance which one has wished to attach to the work. As a matter of fact the possibility is just as good that it does not refer to Pietro Lorenzetti at all. The appellation Petruccio does not occur elsewhere for him nor does he use it in his signatures. Furthermore, Petruccio di Lorenzo would be about as unusual as William Johnson might be to-day. There is still another reason why its application to Pietro is to be doubted. The documents and signed works related to Pietro all fall between 1320 and 1342. In this period a definite development can be traced which reached its maturity about 1340, when the painter was surely no more than 45 or 50

[1] Milanese, *Documenti Senesi* (Siena, 1856), vol. I, p. 194.

[2] See *Ibid.*; also Michel, *Histoire de l'Art* (Paris, 1906), vol. IIB, p. 858.

2. Arezzo. Sta. Maria della Pieve. Altarpiece (detail). Pietro Lorenzetti

3. Arezzo. Sta. Maria della Pieve. Altarpiece. St. John the Baptist.
Pietro Lorenzetti

4. Arezzo. Sta. Maria della Pieve. Altarpiece. St. Matthew.
Pietro Lorenzetti

years old, which would preclude any important artistic creation at the tender age of 10 or 15 years. The definite data concerning him are as follows.

1320, April 17, the commission for the altarpiece in the Pieve at Arezzo,[1] which altarpiece also bears his signature.

1326, payment of 20 lire for the painting of certain pictures in the Casa dell'Opera of the Duomo at Siena.[2]

1329, October 26 and December 29, documents concerning the altarpiece for the monks of Sta. Maria del Carmine at Siena.[3]

1329, a lost altarpiece described by Milanese as at Sant' Ansano.[4]

1329, an altarpiece for the Church of the Umiliati at Siena.[5]

1333, a payment of two pounds for the painting of the new door of the Duomo at Siena.[6] This was a Madonna mentioned by Milanese as repainted by Luca di Tomè.[7]

1335, a payment of 90 pounds as the first instalment for an altarpiece of San Savino for the Duomo at Siena. A master Ciecho received one pound for translating the stories of the saint into the familiar tongue for the use of the painter.[8]

1335, frescoes on the façade of the Spedale at Siena illustrating stories from the life of the Virgin. Pecci, a writer of the eighteenth century, still saw the inscription which read, "Hoc opus fecit Petrus Laurentii et Ambrosius eius frater MCCCXXXV."[9] These frescoes were probably destroyed when the roof was removed in 1720.

1337, an altarpiece for the Church of San Martino at Siena.[10]

1337, an interesting document recording the payment of one pound eleven soldi and nine denarii by Pietro for a license to carry arms "senza tavolaccio."[11] This notice is to be compared to a similar one concerning Lorenzo Maitani, who was awarded the rights of citizenship at Orvieto in 1310 and given the privilege to "carry whatever arms he wished without penalty either in the city or in its suburbs."[12] These records show that the conditions in Italian cities were similar to those in northern Europe, where citizens were not allowed to carry arms within the city limits without special grant or license.

1340, the painting of a Madonna for San Francesco at Pistoia, now in the Uffizi at Florence, signed "Petrus Laurentii de Senis me pinxit Anno Domini MCCCXL."[13]

[1] Borghesi e Bianchi, *Nuovi Documenti* (Siena, 1898), p. 10; Vasari, ed. Sansoni (Firenze, 1878), vol. I, p. 475.

[2] Milanese, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 194. Cavalcaselle suggested in this connection four panels which are in the Opera del Duomo at Siena. Hutton, Perkins, and Berenson have attributed them to Ambrogio. See Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. Hutton (New York, London, 1909), vol. II, pp. 75 and 76, note 1; Perkins, *La Vita di Pietro Laurati* (Firenze, 1912), p. 32; Berenson, *Central Italian Painters of the Renaissance* (New York, 1909), p. 187.

[3] Milanese, *loc. cit.*

[4] Milanese, *loc. cit.*, described as the Madonna with St. Peter, two bishop-saints and two angels.

[5] Tizio, *apud* Della Valle, *Lettere Senese* (Rome, 1785), vol. II, p. 208.

[6] Milanese, *loc. cit.*

[7] Vasari, ed. Sansoni, vol. I, p. 651, note 3.

[8] Milanese, *loc. cit.* Cavalcaselle in the 1885 edition of C. and C., vol. III, p. 201, note 1, suggests that the small panel in the National Gallery representing three saints before an emperor is a part of this altarpiece (see p. 158 of this article).

[9] Vasari, ed. Sansoni, vol. I, pp. 471–472; Della Valle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 209; Ugurieri, *Pompe Senese*, vol. II; Pecci, *apud* Della Valle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 209; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. Murray, vol. II, p. 121.

[10] Della Valle, vol. II, p. 208.

[11] Von Rumohr, *Italienische Forschungen* (Berlin and Stettin, 1827), vol. II, p. 108.

[12] Fumi, *Il Duomo di Orvieto* (Rome, 1891), p. 2.

[13] Vasari, ed. Sansoni, vol. I, p. 473.

1342, the painting of the large triptych of the Birth of the Virgin now in the Opera del Duomo at Siena, signed, "Petrus Laurentii de Senis me pinxit A.MCCCXLII."

1342, a record concerning an investment in real estate. On September 24 Pietro bought two plots of land at Bibbiano for Cola and Martino, the children of the late Tino da Camaino, from one Pietro Stefano di Benintendi.[1]

1344, September 18, Pietro and his wife Joanna, acting for the children of Tino da Camaino, sold six acres of land to brother Simone Orlandi for the price of forty pounds.[2]

Except for the undated signature on a diptych at Altenburg,[3] Germany, there is no other first-hand information about Pietro. All mention of his name ends abruptly with the year 1344, which has caused it to be conjectured that he fell a victim to the plague which ravaged Italy in 1348. De Nicola published an interesting notice of an altarpiece mentioned by Suarez as done for the Franciscan church at Avignon.[4] It bore the inscription, "Hoc opus fecit fieri Dns Bentivenis Gutii decanus Sci Joanis Leoden. dioc. Petrus de Senis me pinxit." With this notice is another which mentions a picture in the same church by "Lippus et Tedericus de Senis Memmi," and bearing the date 1347. Venturi [5] relates this to Pietro Lorenzetti and suspects that he betook himself to Avignon after the death of Simone Martini. "Petrus de Senis" is not necessarily Pietro Lorenzetti, but he of all the painting Peters of Siena at that time would have the right to call himself *the* Peter of Siena. But even this acceptance does not prove his actual presence at Avignon, as the altarpiece could have been sent from Siena.

Vasari enlarges these documentations by ascribing works to Pietro at Monte Oliveto, at Florence, at Pisa, at St. Peter's in Rome, at Cortona, and at Arezzo in the monastery of Saints Fiora and Lucilla.

II

In order to acquire a sound impression of an artist's style one should obviously give careful attention and study to his certified works. Yet so frequently attributions of varying degrees of reasonableness are drawn into the discussion, attributions which consequently have a tendency to color or even to obscure the true style of the artist. In no field of art research has this tendency been more pronounced and more productive of confusing results than in that of Italian primitives. The attribution fever has been raging for at least a quarter of a century, and the methods employed have frequently been such that the last link in a chain of attributions had but the most

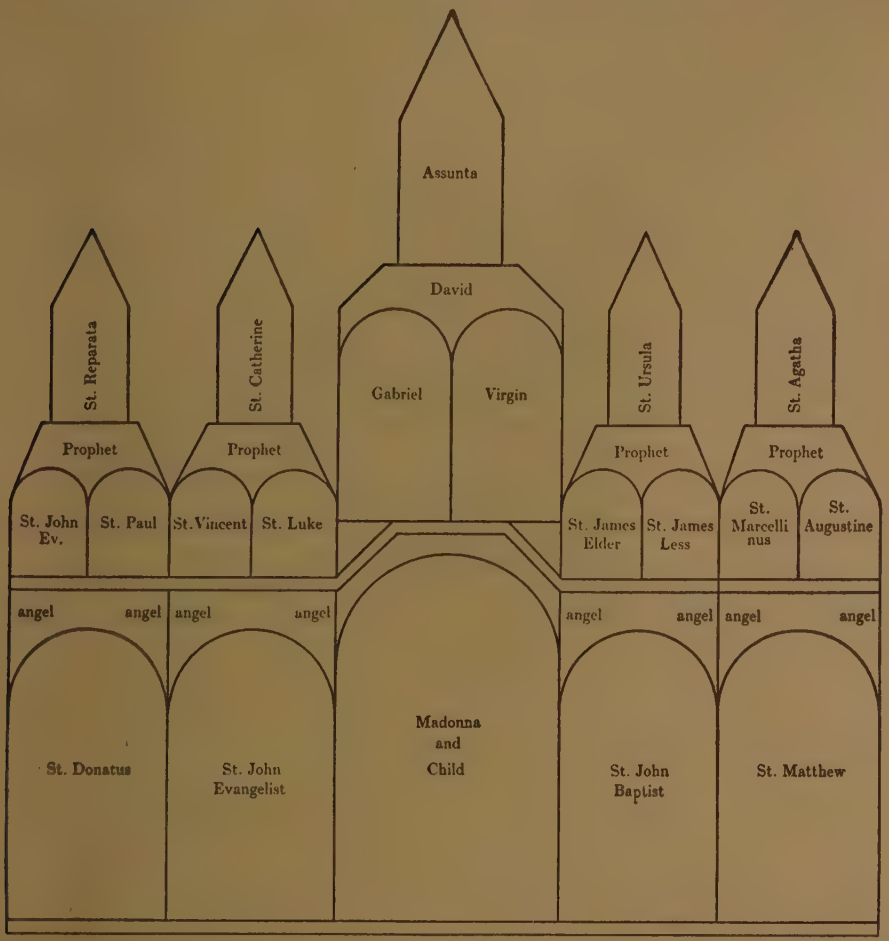
[1] Borghesi e Bianchi, *op. cit.*, p. 11, note.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Kunsthistorische Gesellschaft* (Berlin, Leipzig, Munich, 1897), vol. III, Pls. 10 and 11.
[4] DeNicola, *L'Affresco di Simone Martini* in *L'Arte* (1906), p. 340, and notes 5 and 6 of that page.
[5] Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana* (Milan, 1907), vol. V, p. 678.

5. Arezzo. Sta. Maria della Pieve. Altarpiece. St. John the Evangelist.
Pietro Lorenzetti

6. Arezzo. Sta. Maria della Pieve. Altarpiece (detail). St. Donatus.
Pietro Lorenzetti

7. Arezzo. Sta. Maria della Pieve. Altarpiece (detail). The Annunciation. Pietro Lorenzetti

superficial resemblance to the first. The Lorenzetti have come in for their share of such treatment. Consequently, it might be profitable at least to turn to their authentic works in order to acquire a clear conception of style. It must be pointed out at this juncture that the study of Italian primitives is definitely hampered by the wholesale restoration and repainting to which they have been subjected. The more modern methods of repainting are at times



of extreme expertness so that the mere study of a photograph is often quite misleading.

The earliest authenticated painting done by Pietro Lorenzetti is the altarpiece in the Pieve at Arezzo (Figs. 1–8).[1] It is both documented and signed. The document has interest because it gives detailed specifications for the size, colors to be used, subjects to be represented, and the salary which the painter

[1] See p. 133, note 1.

is to receive. For a time the altarpiece was in the city museum but it now occupies its pristine position on the high altar minus, however, the Gothic finials which at one time adorned it. In its form the altarpiece is a more elaborate derivative of Duccio's polyptych in the Accademia at Siena because of the insertion of angels in the spandril spaces of the lower saints, and of the tondi with prophet figures in the spandrels of the second row. The central panel above the Virgin and Child is also given greater prominence than in the Duccian altarpiece by using the theme of the Annunciation though the subdivision of the panel by a colonnette is the same.

As the diagram on the previous page indicates, the whole of the central vertical axis of the altarpiece has been dedicated to the Virgin, who together with St. Donatus was the patron of the Pieve at Arezzo.

I am publishing here for the first time details from this altarpiece, which is one of the most delightful of the Trecento. The Annunciation panel shows work of extreme beauty and expression which takes its place beside the other famous Annunciations of the earlier Trecento by Giotto, Simone, and Ambrogio Lorenzetti. And the Assumption pinnacle, in spite of the repainting of the aureole of angels, and in spite of its reduced size, loses none of its vigor of expression. The figure is designed with great finesse to fit the form of its frame.

A study of the style of the figures in this altarpiece reveals the evidences of that amalgamation of Byzantine and Gothic elements which was taking place in the early Trecento in Italy. The angel types in the spandrels of the lower panels and the lower saints are Byzantinized Duccian derivatives, but they have more Gothic bulk and their expressions are more motivated. The most striking detail of expression which becomes a favorite one with Pietro is the sort of contrapostal look, found here, for example, in the two Saints John as well as in many of the other saints and angels, where the direction of the gaze is almost at right angles to the axial direction of the head. The younger saints in the upper row with their short-haired bobs and the female saints in the pinnacles are more Gothic in appearance than Byzantine; the latter group are related to the female saints in the Maestàs of Lippo Memmi and Simone Martini. The Madonna does not resemble too much either the Duccian or the Memmian traditions. Her attitude of holding the Child high to one side and gazing at it intently while gathering the folds of her mantle in her right hand is patterned after Gothic Madonnas, in particular after Giovanni Pisano's, for example, the Madonna of Prato. This Gothic or Pisanesque influence is further discernible throughout the altarpiece in the treatment of the drapery, which is cast broadly across shoulders, arms, and thighs so as to accentuate the idea of the form, or else swung in rhythmic folds and simple curves with telling decorative effect and with not too much insistence as yet on the plastic

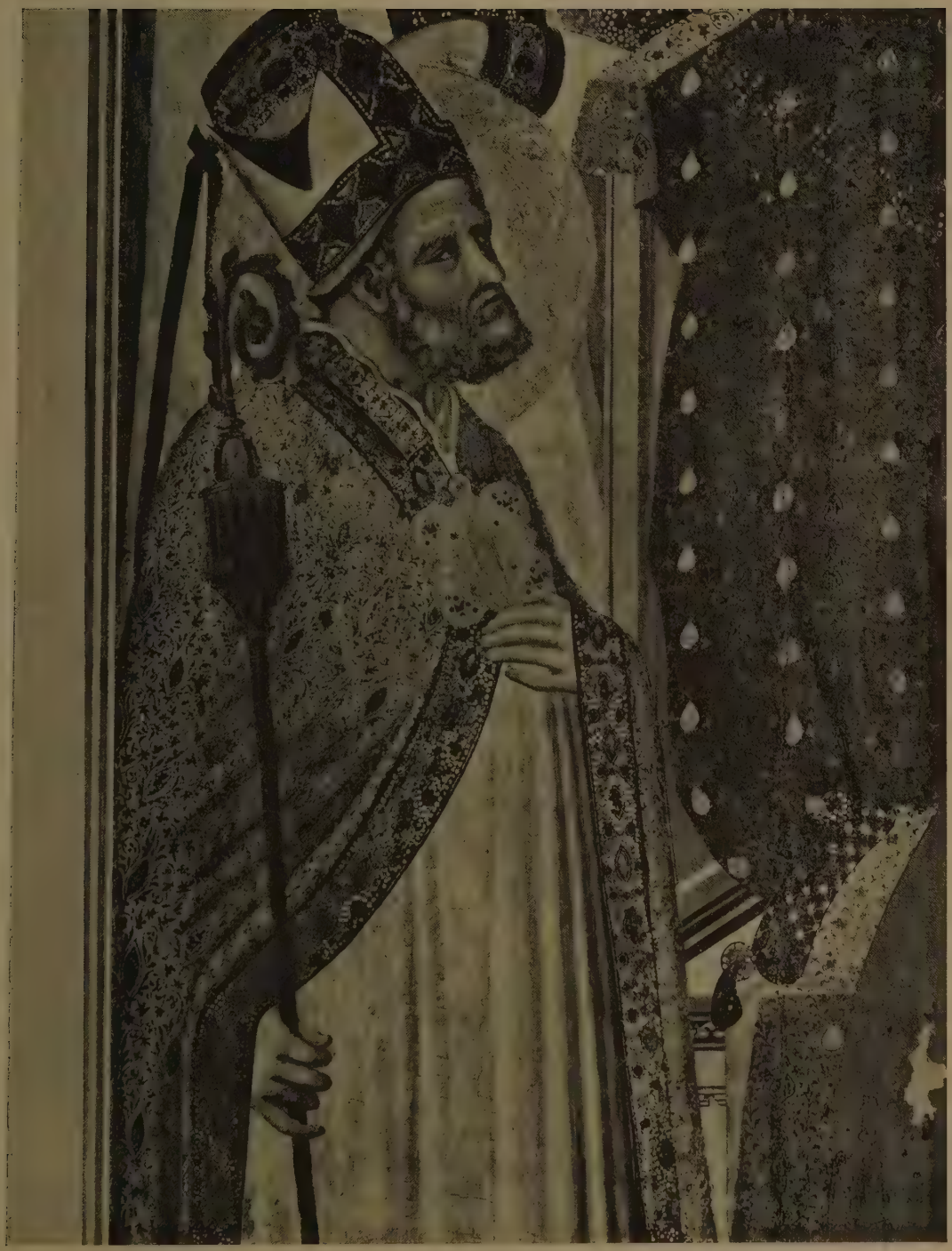
8. Arezzo. Sta. Maria della Pieve. Altarpiece (detail). The Assumption of the Virgin.
Pietro Lorenzetti

9. Siena. S. Ansano a Dofana. The Carmelite Madonna. Pietro Lorenzetti, 1329

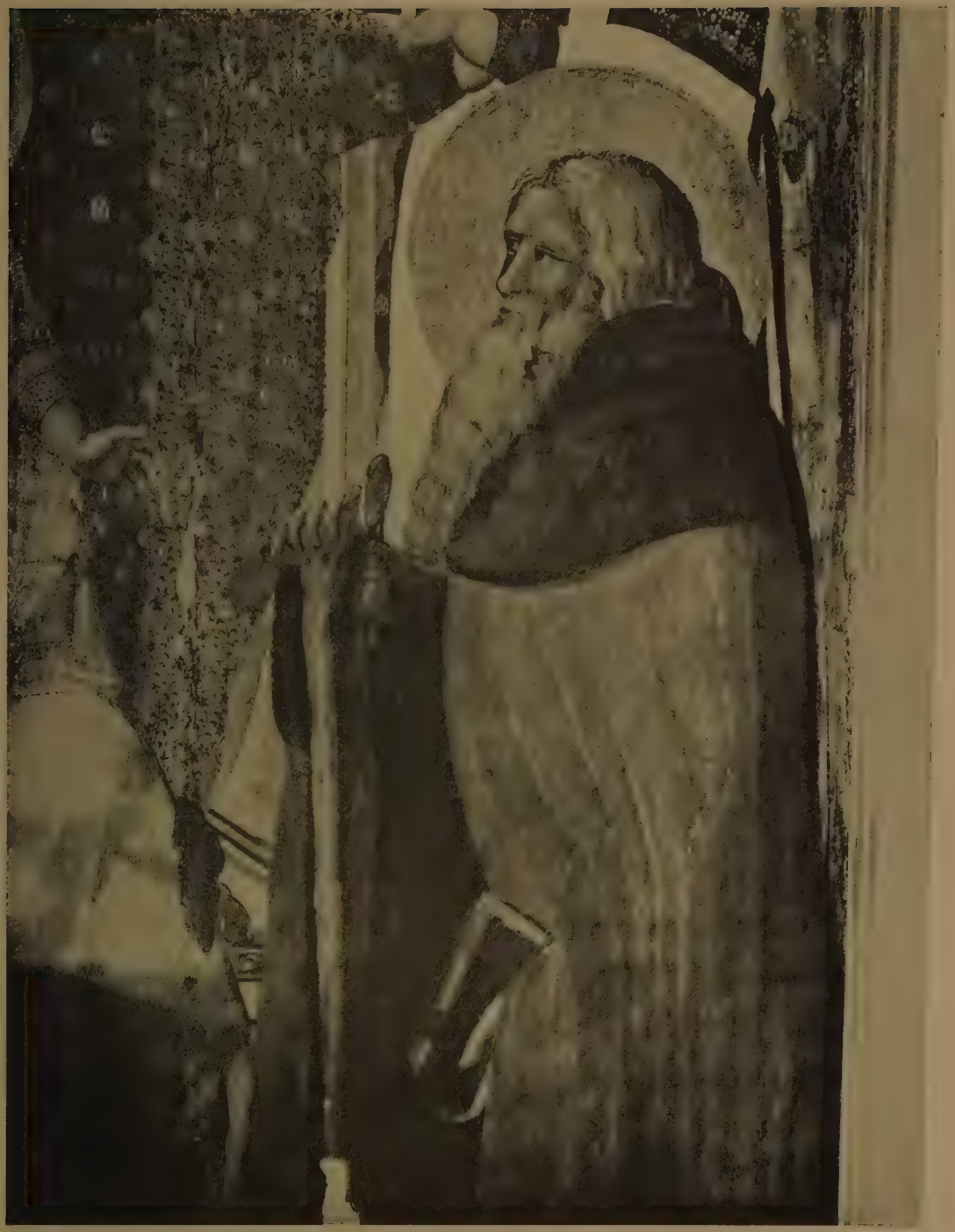
9A. S. Ansano a Dofana. Carmelite Madonna after recent restoration
(Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library)

9B. S. Ansano a Dofana. Madonna and Child. Detail from the Carmelite Madonna
(Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library)

9c. S. Ansano a Dofana. Detail of the Madonna and Child from the Carmelite Madonna
(Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library)



9D. S. Ansano a Dofana. St. Nicholas. Detail from the Carmelite Madonna
(Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library)



9E. S. Ansano a Dofana. Elijah, repainted as St. Anthony the Abbot
Detail from the Carmelite Madonna
(Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library)

9f. S. Ansano a Dofana. Angels. Detail from the Carmelite Madonna
(Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library)

9G. S. Ansano a Dofana. Angels. Detail from the Carmelite Madonna
(Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library)

10. Siena. Accademia, 83. Vision of Sobach. Pietro Lorenzetti

11. Siena. Accademia, 83. Honorius IV approves Carmelite Rule.
Pietro Lorenzetti

effect. The ermine lining of the Madonna's mantle recalls that of the female saints beside the Madonna in the San Gimignano Maestà, which is three years older than Pietro's altarpiece; the fashion is probably a French importation.

The facial types have striking features. The eyes are very almond-shaped and are pinched to a squint at the corners, an evident derivative again from Gothic sculpture of the later thirteenth century in France. The noses are long and slightly thickened at the tip. The lips are pursed, and the chins soft and rounded almost into a pout. When seen in profile the features are crowded to one side of the face leaving a broad expanse of cheek. The articulation of hands and feet is extremely accomplished, emphasizing the roundness of the wrists, the conical form of the hand proper, or the angular, bending qualities of fingers and toes. The forefinger is frequently more widely separated from the middle finger and bent to give a triangular effect, for example, the hand of St. Matthew, or that of the Christ Child, or of the Annunciata.

A closer examination of the panels also discloses repainting and modification; one may note in the St. John the Baptist how the usual unkempt flying locks have been scratched off so as to give a smoother effect.

In 1329 Pietro painted a large altarpiece of which the central panel is now the property of the Chapel of Sant'Ansano at Dofana (Fig. 9). It was at one time in the Accademia at Siena, but when I last saw it it was located in the house next to the Chapel at Dofana. This altarpiece I have elsewhere identified as the supposedly lost Carmelite altarpiece [1] for which there are two documents on record. The evidence for my identification is briefly this. The two documents dated October 26 and December 29 for the year 1329 tell of the request for a loan by the brothers of the Carmelite order and the granting of it by the Gran Consiglio de la Campana in order that the monks might pay for an altarpiece "in which the Virgin Mary and the most Blessed Confessor Nicholas, and the apostles and martyrs, confessors and virgins, have been painted most exquisitely and earnestly by master Pietro Lorenzetti of Siena." [2]

The panel at Dofana represents a large frontal Madonna enthroned in state, with four angels behind the throne and with St. Nicholas to the left and St. Anthony the abbot to the right. The large size of the figures and the hieratic position of the Madonna in themselves indicate that this is merely the central remnant of a huge altarpiece in which the Madonna was surrounded by a heavenly court of saints and angels like the Duccian retable and the Memmian frescoes at Siena and San Gimignano. Along the lower rim of the Virgin's throne runs the inscription, "Petrus Laureti de Senis me

[1] *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. XXIV (1920), pp. 73–76.

[2] See p. 183, note 3. Also DeNicola, *Arte Inedita in Siena, Vita d'Arte*, 1912.

pinsit A.D. MCCCXXVIIII." Because of the condition of the panel only a tip of the last "I" was visible when I saw it. This has evidently escaped those who have read the date as 1328. Below and to the right of this signature one reads, "Elyas Pha," designating the saint to the right of the Virgin who has since been repainted to represent St. Anthony the abbot. And in a corresponding position on the other side of the Virgin is "S. Nicholaus" for the saint who has been more fortunate in retaining his identity. The two original saints flanking the Virgin were, then, Elijah and St. Nicholas. Elijah is not a common appearance in Italian art. But according to the tradition he was the original founder of the Carmelite order.[1] The legend relates that the early Carmelite hermits built a monastery near the fountain of Helias (Elijah) on Mt. Carmel, and also an oratory to the Virgin, whence the appellation of Our Lady of Mt. Carmel. On any altarpiece executed for the Carmelites the figure of Elijah in a position of importance next to the Virgin would be practically a foregone conclusion. (He appears also on the altarpiece by Giovanni d'Asciano in the oratory of San Niccolo [2] near the Carmine at Florence.) In Pietro's altarpiece Elijah's position is rendered doubly conspicuous by the gesture of the Christ Child in his direction, just as the figure of St. Francis is emphasized by the gesture of the Madonna in the fresco group in the Lower Church of that saint at Assisi.

In this panel Pietro still shows his partial dependence on the traditions of Duccio and the Memmi. The four angels behind the throne recall Duccio's only in the arrangement, and the Madonna has the courtly attitude of Simone or Lippo even to the fastening of the mantle and the sweep of its bordered hem down around the arm of the Virgin. The deeper Gothic folds of the lap drapery indicate the same tradition. But in the types, the growth and crystallization of Pietro's facial characteristics are apparent. This appears most definitely in the angels, who are quite emancipated from the Duccian type. With this development of type goes a greater sense of bulk, which is emphasized by the broader handling of the drapery. Despite the repainting, from which the Madonna and the Elijah have suffered most, the figures have great dignity and solemnity, against which the playful attitude of the Child is thrown into contrast.

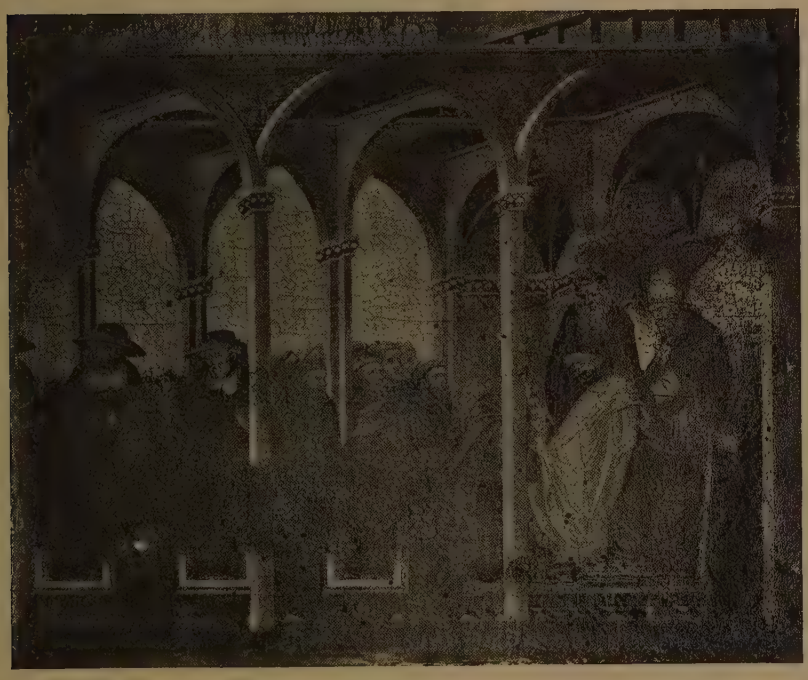
The four panels with episodes from the history of the Carmelite order which are in the Accademia at Siena [3] are unquestionably a part of the predella of this altarpiece (Figs. 10–13). The facial types and the handling of the forms and the drapery are definitely in the style of Pietro at this period. They

[1] Moroni, *Dizionario di Erudizione Stor.-Eccl.* (Venice, 1841), vol. X, pp. 44 ff., 52 ff.

[2] Note that Nicholas is also a favorite saint of the Carmelites, and that he is called for in the document of 1329.

[3] Nos. 83 and 84, two panels to each number. For the original attributions see: Milanese, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 193–194; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. Hutton, vol. II, p. 78; Berenson, *C. I. P.*, p. 189; Venturi, *op. cit.*, vol. V, pp. 672–673; Perkins, *op. cit.*, p. 6; van Marle, *The Italian Schools of Painting* (Hague, 1924), vol. II, p. 346.

12. Siena. Accademia, 84. Fountain of Helias. Pietro Lorenzetti



13. Siena. Accademia, 84. Honorius IV orders the White Habit.
Pietro Lorenzetti

14. Altenburg. Lindenau Museum. Madonna and Child.
Pietro Lorenzetti

15. Altenburg. Lindenau Museum. The Dead Christ.
Pietro Lorenzetti

(Courtesy of Dr. Adolph Goldschmidt, Berlin)

16. Florence. Uffizi. Madonna and Child. Pietro Lorenzetti, 1340

are extremely informative of Pietro's attitude toward space composition and will be discussed later in that connection. The scenes represented are: Carmelite hermits at the fountain of Helias; the granting of the rule by Honorius IV; Honorius IV orders the use of the white habit; the dream of Sobach, Elijah's father.

To approximately this period belong the two small panels in the Lindenau Museum at Altenburg [1] (Figs. 14, 15). On the one is a half-length Madonna caressing the Christ Child, who is wrapped in swaddling clothes. On the other is the half-figure of the dead Christ. The latter panel bears the signature, "Petrus Lauretii de Seni me pixi." The Madonna panel has a crack down the centre and has been retouched where the crack had ruined the features. The repaint, however, has taken away all the quality of Pietro's features and exhibits at present a rather soft, modern-looking face. The Christ has retained more of the pristine style.

When Pietro painted his Pistoia Madonna, now in the Uffizi, in 1340,[2] his style had assumed a more set, a more solid quality (Figs. 16–18). The forms are all more fleshy and seem ready to burst the rather tight-fitting garments. The draperies are also given greater weight and break into angular folds as they strike the ground, in the manner of Giovanni Pisano's drapery. As a matter of fact, Pietro must have been definitely impressed by Giovanni's work at Pistoia, for the two angels standing with folded arms beside the throne of the Madonna are evidently inspired by the Sibyls on the Pistoia pulpit. Wedded to his usual seriousness of content, this later style gives even greater dignity to his whole group. And the whole effect of simplified massiveness is heightened by the profuse elaboration of the tooling of the haloes and brocade accessories. There is not much change in his types, in which his established facial peculiarities still persist. How he loves to portray the conical rotundity of the hands, or the flat parallel accents of bent fingers! Incidentally the picture has been very much cleaned and scrubbed, as the details of the angels in particular show.

Two years later Pietro painted the Nativity of the Virgin now in the Opera del Duomo at Siena, in which all the great qualities of the master are epitomized (Figs. 19, 20). It is a scene in which a tremendous sense of dignity is conveyed by all the figures, this dignity being emphasized by their expressions and by the massive, plastic qualities they all possess. Pietro shows himself interested in a similar development of form-rendering to that practised by Giovanni Pisano and Giotto. It was of course the influence of Gothic art, but that particular side of Gothic art in which the plastic elements of form and

[1] *Kunsthistorische Gesellschaft*, vol. III, Pls. 10 and 11; Schmarsow, in *Festschrift zu Ehren des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz* (Leipzig, 1897), pp. 151–152.

[2] See p. 133, note 13.

drapery were stressed as opposed to the other side which placed its main emphasis on the decorative, emotional elements of line, such as one sees in Duccio and Simone, though in Simone one often finds the combination of both. The more plastic tradition is characteristic of the thirteenth century in France, while the decorative is more essentially of the fourteenth. In the former the drapery is cast in broad masses over body surfaces and falls to the ground, either in simple cascades or in straight lines, breaking into angular folds when it strikes the ground. Such is its use in Giotto and Giovanni Pisano, and such is its use in Pietro's later style. In the Nativity of the Virgin, the sense of bulk in the figure of St. Anne and the feeling of tightness and stretch over the legs and thighs is extraordinary and is conveyed almost entirely by the handling of the drapery. Analogies to this figure are to be found in Giovanni Pisano's Nativity in the Pistoia pulpit and in Giotto's Nativity in the Arena Chapel at Padua. Similarly analogies for the drapery of the two female figures who are bringing in gifts are seen in Giovanni Pisano's Presentation on the Siena pulpit, in the figures of the angels and the Madonna at the sides of that scene, or in any of the corner figures of the pulpit, likewise in the Paduan Madonna or the grouped caryatid figures which were formerly the central support of the Pisan pulpit.

Pietro's expressional realisms have rarely been more effective than in this picture. The tired expression of the old St. Anne as she feebly props herself up on one arm to receive the felicitations of her friends after her travail, the spirit of happy congratulation of the foremost of the women, the gossiping of the two who follow, the earnest attention of the midwives to their business, or, the intense anxiety of the old Joachim to hear the news told by the eager boy in contrast to the calm of the gentle old man who came to keep his friend company during the anxious hours — these all combine to make this one of the most expressive accomplishments of the Trecento.

The setting of the scene in its handling of the space problem is also rather striking when compared with Duccio's or Giotto's methods of handling space. The number of Pietro's surviving space compositions are few, but they are instructive. The earliest is the Annunciation panel in the Arezzo altarpiece (Fig. 7). Here the space represented is seen from a slight angle, and is disposed slightly asymmetrically with greater architectural emphasis given to the Madonna's side by means of the upper loggia. No attempt is made to relate the figures to the space, as both Gabriel and the Madonna would experience considerable discomfort should they attempt to rise from their positions. This seems so much the more extraordinary seeing that Pietro is really interested in depicting space by the rather novel inclusion of the colonnette which divides the panel in his architectural scheme. In three of the predella panels from the Carmelite altarpiece he has related figures and space much more

17. Florence. Uffizi. Madonna and Child (detail). Pietro Lorenzetti

18. Florence. Uffizi. Detail of Angels. Pietro Lorenzetti

19. Siena. Opera del Duomo. Nativity of the Virgin. Pietro Lorenzetti, 1342

naturally (Figs. 10–13). In all three he repeats the oblique point of view and accentuates the asymmetrical arrangement still more. This asymmetry is complementary to the rather narrative quality of the scenes depicted, and is so arranged as to give the effect of a tall narrow rectangle set alongside of a broader and almost square one. Greater depth is suggested by doors and windows opening into back apartments. But by showing portions of the sky or of gold background above the shorter portion of the composition the artist gives somewhat of the effect of a doll-house with one wall removed. Both Giotto and Duccio used the asymmetrical and oblique architectural backgrounds for their scenes. Both, however, also used the centralized one. And Giotto in several of the Sta. Croce frescoes, for example, the Granting of the Rule, and the Vision of Brother Augustine, combines an asymmetrical ceiling perspective which indicates the point of view of the spectator with an entirely symmetrical architectural setting. With Giotto and Duccio the rather arbitrary cardboard, doll-house construction of these settings is much more apparent than with Pietro. Neither of the former grasped the full possibilities of the column as an aid in rendering spatial effects, for their figures are often to be seen partly in front of or partly behind a column. In this respect Pietro shows an advance. And in the Siena Nativity he brings his idea to its highest development (Fig. 19). The cardboard-box quality is entirely gone as the result of using the colonnettes and arches of the frame construction as integral parts of his composition. And in that way he attempts a unity of space between the spectator and the scene. The germ of this treatment was already apparent in the Arezzo Annunciation panel. But he goes even further. On the left side of the picture he opens up a vista into the back of the house which emphasizes still more the effect of space and airiness. Pietro seems to have sensed here similar principles of asymmetrical space-balance as Titian employed in more accomplished form where a deep but narrow void is used to balance a wider but shallower solid. Giotto in the Presepe at Assisi and Duccio in the Christ before Herod and in the Temptation panels at Siena had attempted to give additional suggestions of depth to their compositions, but the space unity and the element of balance did not enter into their schemes. Pietro still sticks to his habitual asymmetrical composition of rectangles in this panel, but he has adapted it very cleverly to the symmetrical triptych of the frame by having the larger room divided into two bays. And he is very careful to have his figures stay behind the columns, thus using them rather consciously to effect the space illusion. This problem of space composition seems to have interested both Pietro and Ambrogio. They must have worked at such problems together, for Ambrogio's Presentation in the Temple offers very definite solutions of space composition and perspective.

I have sought to bring out in the discussion of these documented accomplishments of Pietro Lorenzetti the peculiarities of types and composition which best characterize his style. There is after all an extraordinary consistency in his development. The differences between his earlier and later works are not very great. They consist chiefly in a greater sense of bulk and solidity in his later style, which is accompanied by a greater plastic rendering of the drapery. The thinner and almost web-like radiating folds of the mantles of St. John the Baptist and the Virgin in the Arezzo altarpiece take on greater plasticity in the Carmelite Madonna and reach their developed stage in the Uffizi panel. He consciously chose this type of drapery as a fitting accompaniment to the dignity and seriousness of his content in preference to the more calligraphic type of drapery. And this seriousness of content is consistently maintained throughout his development. As for the minor details of his facial types and attitudes there is very little modification to be noted.

It might be interesting to point out the differences in his angel types in the various altarpieces. In the Arezzo altarpiece they are still semi-Duccian. Their hair is rolled back and held by a simple circlet. Over their tunics they wear mantles edged with a special border and held together at the breast by a jewelled pin. In the Carmine panel they are without these mantles but wear elaborately panelled costumes in the manner of Byzantine archangels. At the neck they have low V-shaped collars over which a soft, wavy, veil-like material projects after the fashion of the costume of St. Savinus in the Duccio Maestà or of Saints Donatus, Vincent, and Marcellinus in the Arezzo altarpiece. Their hair has a more pronounced saucer-cut bang over the forehead than previously noticed. In the Uffizi panel the same type of headdress is used. The costumes are simple robes gathered in baggy folds at the waist and fit tight like jerseys about the arms, neck, and shoulders.

Similarly, differences may be remarked in the headdress of his Virgin types. In the earlier Arezzo and Carmine Madonnas he uses a mantle which covers only the back half of the head, allowing a thin, transparent veil to project and cover the front of the hair. In the Uffizi Madonna the mantle covers the entire head and only a narrow edge of an opaque veil projects along the front of it. This later type seems a throwback to the earlier Sienese tradition found in Duccio and his followers.

III

Our impression of Pietro Lorenzetti, then, from the consideration of his documented works is one of a sturdy and serious personality whose artistic roots lie both in Byzantine and Gothic traditions. From the Byzantine he takes the accessories, the minor elements of his pictures, such as the angel and saint types and the use of gold hatchings on the wings and the drapery.

20. Siena. Opera del Duomo. Nativity of the Virgin (detail).
Pietro Lorenzetti

21. Cortona. Cathedral. Madonna and Child. Pietro Lorenzetti

22. Montichiello. S. Leonardo e S. Cristoforo. Madonna and Child. Pietro Lorenzetti
(Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library)

But from the Gothic he draws the inspiration for the spirit which pervades his work and for the realistic expression which develops in his types as he progresses. From the Gothic also comes his sense of rendering solid forms and drapery, which puts across to the spectator a definite impression of a determined, eager, powerful, and capable personality, who from choice and disposition puts aside the more delicate, prettified, and sumptuous creations of a Simone and his milieu. As a consequence we are unable to attribute to such a virile personality many of the panels which have been attached to his name.

The problem of the attributions to Pietro Lorenzetti is characteristic of a great many others in the history of connoisseurship in painting. Nineteenth-century connoisseurship was extremely fond of attaching well-known and famous names to every new picture which appeared on the horizon. Collectors and dealers wanted big names, which often interested them more than the actual quality of the painting. One has only to consult the older guidebooks and catalogues or visit some of the older collections where many absurd attributions still persist to realize how far afield this mania went. Many, it is true, have since been relegated to the more modest "School of" category. The more impersonal attitude of modern scholarship, which is interested in establishing as true a picture of the development of styles as is possible, has been largely responsible for this change. Many new and important personalities have emerged from the erstwhile closed circle of celebrities. And indeed why not? It would be an absurdity to suppose that the majority of Sienese primitives, let us say from between 1280 and 1350, are the works of Duccio, Segna, Ugolino, Simone, and the Lorenzetti since the names of many artists of that period exist whose works are unknown to us, and since the probability of many more personalities exists whose names have not survived in the records.

I shall first consider in more or less chronological order those attributions which seem to me sound, with perhaps an occasional addition or adjustment.

The first of the attributions to Pietro which I shall accept is the Madonna in the Cathedral of Cortona [1] (Fig. 21). And it would seem that in accepting her I should have to place her rather early in the list of Pietro's accomplishments, certainly closer to the Arezzo altarpiece than to the Carmelite Madonna. Venturi had been disposed to place her about 1335.[2] But the generally Ducciesque quality of the work, with the Madonna of a type very slightly re-

[1] Crowe and Cavalcaselle (Italian ed., 1885), vol. III, pp. 205–206; ed. Douglas (London, 1908), vol. III, pp. 107, note 9, and 110; ed. Hutton, vol. II, p. 89, note; Thode, in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, vol. XI, p. 8; Rothes, *Die Blütezeit der Sienesischen Malerei*, p. 17; Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 188; Perkins, *Vita*, etc., p. 57; Venturi, *op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 674; Gnoli, in *Rassegna d'Arte Umbra*, 1909–10, p. 24; DeNicola, in *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1919, p. 96; Gielly, *Les Primitifs Siennois*, p. 69; van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 326; Cecchi, *Les Peintres Siennois* (Paris, 1928), p. 88.

[2] Venturi, *op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 674.

moved from Duccio's Maestà, the types of the angels which find their counterparts in the same altarpiece by Duccio and which are not yet as definitely Lorenzettian as those of 1329, together with the type of throne, make it imperative to date the panel somewhere in the twenties. As for the throne, it is the same heavy, panelled type common in the earlier Sienese paintings prior to 1330. But whereas these latter are usually of stone and done in the tradition of Cosmati work, the throne in the Cortona panel suggests a simplification of that type minus the mosaic work so common with the Cosmati and minus the leaf cornices. It gives the effect of a wooden throne, and as such would be among the earliest of the wooden thrones which later have a tendency to supplant the stone ones.

The hand of Pietro betrays itself quite readily in the types of the faces. The angels, although strongly Duccian, have that crowded arrangement of facial features with squint eyes, long curved nose, and pursed lips which we have designated as characteristic of Pietro. They wear their hair rolled about a ribbon or circlet — and without a bang over the forehead — like the angels in the Arezzo altarpiece. The angel to the lower left has the typical contrapostal look found so frequently with Pietro, in which the direction of the gaze is in the opposite direction from the axial direction of the head. The two Saints John on the Arezzo altarpiece furnish good examples of this trait. Note also as characteristic of Pietro the fleshy wrist of the Madonna, the careful articulation of feet and hands, and the usual splaying of the forefinger and middle fingers which, in the case of the angels, is so exaggerated as to form triangles.

Next in chronological order I should place the Madonna and Child in the church of San Leonardo e San Cristoforo at Montichiello near Pienza [1] (Fig. 22). It is one of Pietro's most charming early Madonnas, though it has suffered by repainting and mutilation. At present only the immediate background enclosed within the arched outline has the original gold ground. The rest is painted blue and has a ribboned inscription, "Mater Puritatis." I date the panel early for several reasons which seem convincing to me. The general silhouette of the Madonna is slenderer than Pietro's later style and is closer in its feeling to the Arezzo Madonna. Besides that, the Madonna wears the early type of mantle which covers only the rear half of her head. And also the haloes of both the Madonna and the Christ Child are of the incised type which Pietro used in the Arezzo altarpiece following the Duccian tradition.

[1] Perkins, *op. cit.*, p. 34; Idem, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, vol. IV, p. 4; Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 188; van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 363.

23. Florence. Horne Collection. St. Benedict, St. Catherine, St. Margaret. Pietro Lorenzetti

24. Le Mans. Museum. St. Margaret (?). Pietro Lorenzetti

25. Assisi. Lower church. Madonna, St. Francis and St. John the Evangelist. Pietro Lorenzetti

I surmise that the three half-length saints in the Horne Collection at Florence [1] (Fig. 23) and the female saint in the Museum at Le Mans [2] (Fig. 24) were once a part of the same altarpiece as the Montichiello Madonna or at least of the same period. But the generally slender proportions, the silhouette of the Horne St. Margaret's face, which is identical to that of the Montichiello Madonna, the arrangement of the features in the face, the beaded border with panelled inserts of St. Catherine's robe, which again is similar to the mantle of the Montichiello Virgin, and the treatment of the haloes, seem surely to argue for the assumption that they belonged to the same altarpiece. As for the haloes, the incised design of curled leaves which is found on the Madonna's halo at Montichiello is identical to that of the Horne St. Margaret.

Certainly, at a date not far removed from the Montichiello Madonna, Pietro painted the fresco Madonna group with St. Francis and St. John the Evangelist in the lower church at Assisi (Fig. 25). Although I shall discuss the frescoes elsewhere in this article, I wish to insert the Assisi Madonna here because of its obviously close connection with the Montichiello Madonna in style. The Christ Child is the same pert, eager little fellow, appearing a bit more restrained in the Assisi painting. The way His feet are held in by the Madonna is almost identical in both cases. The Madonna's costume is practically the same in both representations and rather different from Pietro's iconography both earlier and later. It consists of a mantle which covers only half the Madonna's head in Pietro's usual early style, but then sweeps across from her left cheek over to the right shoulder. The drapery over the Madonna's right arm is then disposed in three layers, the mantle, a fringed cape beneath, and the fold over the lower arm, the disposition of which is identical with only very minor deviations in the two Madonnas. The thin features of the side saints also recall the Horne types in spite of the repaint of the Assisi fresco.

The huge painted crucifix in San Marco at Cortona [3] (Fig. 26) displays the characteristics of this earlier period in the spider-like folds of the drapery, which recall Arezzo, and in the refined and rather thin facial features. It is a very impressive Christ after the Giottesque type and will serve as an excellent comparison with the Assisi Crucifixion.

[1] Perkins, *Vita di Pietro Laurati*, p. 37; Idem, *Rassegna d'Arte* (1914), p. 98; Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 188; van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 363.

[2] Perkins, *Rassegna d'Arte* (1914), p. 98; Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 188 (called St. Agatha); van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 363.

[3] Thode, *op. cit.*, p. 8; Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 188; van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 370, note 2; Gielly, *Les Primitifs Siennois* (Paris, 1926), p. 65; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. Douglas, vol. III, p. 110.

The Madonna in the Johnson Collection at Philadelphia and formerly in the Chigi Saracini Collection at Siena[1] (Fig. 27) marks Pietro's transition to the heavier, bulkier type of his later period. This bulky type is already established in the Carmelite Madonna of 1329. And here in the Johnson Madonna he calls attention to his transition by the fact that he exaggerates the thickness of the Madonna's neck and hand and of the child's body, while the type of the Madonna, her pose, and the decorative treatment of her mantle still recall the Arezzo Virgin. The haloes are still of the incised type, whereas in the Carmelite Madonna the punched type inaugurated by Simone is already used by Pietro. Another transitional feature is the throne, which is evidently a wooden one, but imitates in wood the mosaic inlay of the earlier Cosmatesque thrones of marble.

With this Johnson Madonna I would associate two small panels, each containing the bust of an angel, which were formerly in the collection of Count Ourousoff at Vienna [2] and more recently attached to a later panel in the Carl Hamilton Collection at New York (Fig. 31). The panels are of a peculiar shape which betrays that they were at one time spandrel fillers for a panel topped by a trilobed arch. The attitude of the angels as they gaze downward with folded arms suggests that they were the parts of a Madonna composition. As a matter of fact the Johnson panel has a trilobed arch at the top and the measurements of the angel panels fit it exactly. I reproduce a photograph of a restoration of the original composition. The style of the angels' heads checks with that of the Johnson Madonna. They are emancipated from the Duccian tradition and are closer to the Carmelite angels, which are more individually Pietran. Even the wavy lines of the soft material about their throats are like the Carmelite angels', though this feature also appears in the earlier figures of St. Donatus in the Arezzo altarpiece. The hair of the angels is still rolled in the earlier fashion without the bang. In the Carmelite panel the bang makes its appearance.

The two panels (nos. 62 and 64)[3] in the Siena Accademia each containing two male saints (St. Thaddeus, St. Bartholomew, St. Thomas, and St. James) under pointed cusped arches and with a prophet bust between each pair of saints, though not in the best condition, seem to belong close to the Carmelite Madonna (Figs. 28, 29). A comparison of the profile of St. James with that of the angel at the extreme right in the Carmelite panel reveals a very close re-

[1] No. 91. Perkins, *Vita*, etc., p. 40; Berenson, *Catalogue of the Johnson Collection* (Philadelphia, 1913), *Italian Paintings*, p. 52. In Douglas's *History of Siena* (p. 369), it is attributed to Ambrogio Lorenzetti; van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 608, and vol. V, p. 457; Gielly, *Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne*, 1912 (vol. XXXII), p. 454.

[2] Suida, *Oesterreichische Kunstschätze* (Vienna, 1911), vol. I, Pl. X.

[3] Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. Douglas, vol. III, p. 107, notes 4 and 5; Perkins, *op. cit.* p. 30; Dami, *La Galleria di Siena* (Siena, 1924), p. 15; van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 370.

26. Cortona. S. Marco. Crucifix. Pietro Lorenzetti

27. Philadelphia. Johnson Collection. Madonna and Child with donor. Angels added from Carl Hamilton Collection, New York City.
Pietro Lorenzetti

28. Siena. Accademia. Sts. Thaddeus and Bartholomew. Pietro Lorenzetti

lationship. They might even be parts of this great altarpiece, and the weaker handling of some of the details may easily be due to that bottega assistance which is always on hand in a big job.

Bearing the date of 1332 is a group of three pinnacles (nos. 79, 81, 82)[1] in the Accademia at Siena (Figs. 30–32). These panels give us a conception of the continuation of Pietro's style in the thirties of the Trecento. The saints represented are St. Bartholomew, St. Cecilia, and St. John the Baptist. The panels come from Sta. Cecilia a Crevole and were surely made for that place in view of the presence of St. Cecilia among the saints represented and in view of the position which this panel evidently had in the original altarpiece. They are parts of a polyptych of which the Madonna panel and the saint on the right end of the altarpiece are now missing. The arrangement must have been: St. Bartholomew, St. Cecilia, the Madonna and Child, St. John the Baptist, and the missing terminal saint. This is apparent not only from the position of St. Bartholomew who turns in to the right and from the gesture of St. John the Baptist who is pointing toward the central panel of the Madonna as he also does in the Arezzo altarpiece, but from the broken inscription which runs along the bottom of the Cecilia and John panels. What remains on the Cecilia panel is "——s Laurentius." The central panel probably had something like "de Senis" and the beginning numbers of the date which is carried on in the John panel "CCXXXII hoc opus." The right-end panel probably had the "fecit" or "pinxit." This is surely a signature by Pietro as the style of the figures have all the necessary earmarks. A new feature for Pietro which appears on these panels is the type of halo. The names of the saints appear picked out in the gold of the haloes, a practice apparently begun by Simone.

To this period after the Carmelite Madonna and in the early thirties I would attribute a group of panels which seem to me to be rather closely related. The first of this group are the two standing saints, St. Agnes and St. Catherine (nos. 578, 579)[2] in the Accademia at Siena. They came from the convent of the Capuchins of St. Egidio (Fig. 33). The broader head types, the bulkier forms, and the greater plasticity to the drapery are indications of this period. Note also how elaborate the tooling is becoming, extending even along the borders of the panels.

A second pair of panels which seem as if they might even be parts of the

[1] Nos. 79, 81, 82. Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 189; Olcott, in Heywood and Olcott's *Guide to Siena* (London, 1903), p. 323; also Perkins's note in the 1924 edition; Dami, *La Galleria di Siena*, p. 17; Perkins, *Vita*, etc., p. 30; Idem, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, vol. IV, p. 54; Jacobsen, *Die Sienesischen Meister des Trecento in der Gemäldegalerie zu Siena* (Strassburg, 1907) p. 34; Gielly, *Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne* (1912), vol. XXXII pp. 449 ff.; Idem, *Les Primitifs Siennois*, p. 66; van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 361; Brogi, *Inventario generale degli oggetti d'arte della Provincia di Siena*, pp. 377–378; Cecchi, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

[2] Perkins, *Vita*, etc., p. 29; Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 189; van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 337; Gielly, *Les Primitifs Siennois*, p. 69; Cecchi, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

same altarpiece are St. Peter and St. John the Baptist in the Vatican gallery [1] (Figs. 34, 35). The St. John is very badly repainted, but the St. Peter and the angels in the spandrels of his panel bear strong evidences of Pietro's style. Van Marle suggested an early date for these two saints and related them to the Cortona Madonna. But against this earlier dating are the heavier types of the saints, the elaborately punched tooling of haloes and borders, and the iconography of the angels. The latter discloses an angel type with a hair-buckle over the forehead under which the bangs emerge as in the Carmelite altarpiece. My reason for relating these Vatican panels with the Siena ones, apart from the similarity of the tooling, lies also in the fact that the angels of both sets have palms as attributes, which is not a very usual occurrence.

Two other panels of this period are: the St. Catherine in the Metropolitan Museum in New York [2] and formerly in the Reber Collection at Barmen (Fig. 36); and a female saint with a cross and a crown of flowers formerly in the possession of Signore Grassi at Florence and now in the collection of F. M. Perkins [3] (Fig. 37). Both have suffered much at the hands of restorers.

Closer to the three panels in the Siena gallery dated 1332 is probably the three-quarter-length figure of St. Lucy in the church of Sta. Lucia tra le Rovinate in Florence [4] (Fig. 38). It has been entirely repainted. Giglioli published a document in which it is stated that the figure was refreshed and washed by Jacopo Sellaio in 1485. No doubt as a result of this early repainting the panel for a long time carried an attribution to Pesello. Suida, however, made the attribution to Pietro which is certainly correct. The figure has all the quality of Pietro just at this period, even under the repaint. This is apparent in the plastic drapery, the headdress with its prominent coronet like the St. Cecilia in the Siena 1332 group, and also the inscribed halo which bears the saint's name.

A characteristic feature which Pietro uses on his female figures of this period is a soft and sometimes transparent veil which covers the hair and is twisted and looped about the neck. It appears on the Carmelite Madonna, on the St. Cecilia at Siena, on the St. Catherine at Siena, on the St. Catherine at New York, and also on the repainted St. Lucy. In the Carmelite Madonna there is in addition a sort of fringed shawl which falls over the shoulders, and which is repeated in the Siena St. Cecilia and in the Florentine St. Lucy, though in the latter the fringes were not indicated in the repaint.

[1] Van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 326.

[2] Bryson Burroughs, in the *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City*, vol. IX, no. 4, p. 99; van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 456.

[3] Unpublished so far as I know.

[4] Suida, *Florentinische Maler um die Mitte des XIV Jahrhunderts* (Strassburg, 1905), p. 1, note 5; Perkins, *Rassegna d'Arte* (1906), p. 15; Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 188; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. Douglas, vol. III, p. 107, note 9*6; Venturi, *op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 678; van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 370; Gielly, *op. cit.*, p. 69; Giglioli, Rivista d'Arte (1906), p. 184 ff.

29. Siena. Accademia. Sts. Thomas and James. Pietro Lorenzetti

30. Siena. Accademia. St. Bartholomew.
Pietro Lorenzetti, 1332

31. Siena. Accademia. St. Cecilia.
Pietro Lorenzetti, 1332

32. Siena. Accademia. St. John the Baptist.
Pietro Lorenzetti, 1332

33. Siena. Accademia. Sts. Agnes and Catherine. Pietro Lorenzetti

Another small bit of painting of this period is a bust figure of the prophet Daniel in the possession of P. M. Gentner at Florence. The prophet holds a scroll with the inscription, "Beatus qui me . . . " and the date A.D. MCCCXXXIIIII.[1] The idea suggests itself that we have here a pinnacle from the altarpiece which Pietro painted for the Duomo at Siena with stories from the life of St. Savinus.

A group of three Madonnas range themselves about the period of the Uffizi Madonna of 1340. The first is at Castiglione d'Orcia [2] and is in rather bad condition (Fig. 39). But its style is that of Pietro's late period.

The second is in the collection of F. M. Perkins at Lastra a Signa[3] (Fig. 40). The panel is unfortunately very much repainted in spots. The whole background is done over and the haloes of the Madonna and Child have been covered with a gaudy decoration which hides the finely tooled original haloes, except in places where the repaint has been scratched off. The Madonna's mantle has also been badly reworked. Traces of the original gold-shot border such as Pietro used on the Uffizi Madonna are still visible. But the repainter has spoiled the silhouette of the Madonna's head and neck by dropping the line of the mantle, which falls from the head to her right shoulder, at an uneven slant and has consequently thickened the neck and ruined the shoulder. The original silhouette must have been like the Uffizi and Castiglione Madonnas' where the form of both head and shoulder is accentuated by bringing the line of the mantle tightly around the back of the head and neck. The general iconography of the panel is very close to the Castiglione Madonna. In both, the Madonna looks out of the picture; in both, the mantle sweeps across the Madonna's breast to the child's waist, and in both the position of the Madonna's hands as she supports the child is the same. Even the costume of the child is similar in the two panels in the use of the split sleeve fastened by jewelled buttons. The original form of the panel was also altered from a pointed arch with returned mouldings to its present square form.

The third Madonna of this group is in the Serristori Collection at Florence [4] and is one of Pietro's finest (Fig. 41). In its iconography it is much closer to the Uffizi Madonna than are the other two which we have just discussed. This appears in the more intimate relationship between the Madonna and Child, in the casting of the mantle over the head, shoulder, and arm, and in the articulation of the forearm, wrist, and hand, all of which are only slightly varied from the Uffizi panel. The type of the Child, however, is closer to the Perkins Christ Child.

[1] Unpublished.

[2] Brogi, *op. cit.*, p. 95; Bargagli-Petrucci, *Pienza*, etc. (Bergamo, 1907), p. 119; Perkins, *Vita*, etc., p. 33; Idem, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1908, p. 3; Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 188; DeNicola, *Vita d'Arte*, 1912, fig. 27; van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 363; Cecchi, *op. cit.*, p. 88. The haloes in this panel are painted over the originally tooled ones.

[3] Unpublished.

[4] Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 188; Perkins, *Vita*, etc., p. 37; van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 370, note 2.

IV

That Pietro Lorenzetti was also a fresco painter is attested in records and in various passages in Vasari. It was indeed the normal thing for any artist of prominence to be employed in the decoration of churches and public buildings. But in spite of all this there is very little that has survived which we can identify with the style of Pietro as we know it. Tradition has it that both Pietro and his brother Ambrogio worked together in the monastic church of San Francesco at Siena. And it is here that we find the bits approaching nearest the style of Pietro. The Crucifixion in the chapel to the left of the sanctuary has been almost unanimously attributed to him [1] (Fig. 42). And I think rightly. For here we find all the characteristics of Pietro in the details of the facial types, the bulky forms, the round wrists, and the splayed and well-articulated fingers, as well as in the dramatic reserve and dignity so well expressed by Pietro elsewhere. The influence of the great Florentine Giotto is nowhere else so apparent and cogent as in this fresco. The solemn dignity of the main theme thrown into higher relief by the fluttering extreme despair of the angels about the cross recalls the Paduan Deposition in its effect and has all the qualities of a piece of orchestration in which the broad theme carried on cellos and basses is relieved but not overbalanced by the fluttering violins or shrieking wood winds. This reserve of emotion coupled with the greater bulk of the figures shows Pietro's advance in style and content over his earlier Crucifixion at Cortona. Tizio,[2] who saw the fresco in a better state of preservation, records that there was an inscription which read: "Protege, Petre Senas, o martir prime Senensis, semper ab offensis, protege, Petre Senas," an appeal evidently to the patron saint of the painter. And the date, according to the same writer, was 1331.

The only other fresco in San Francesco which seems to belong to Pietro is the dim and retouched figure of Christ risen from the tomb which is on the walls of the refectory of the monastery [3] (Fig. 43). The features of the Christ are closely comparable to the St. John the Baptist in the Arezzo altarpiece, to the same saint in the Accademia in Siena, or to the Christ Blessing in the Cortona Crucifixion.

The two frescoes in the chapel next to the Crucifixion which represent St. Louis received by Pope Boniface VIII, and the Decapitation of the Francis-

[1] Thode, *op. cit.*, p. 21; Jacobsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 39–40; Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 189; Perkins, *Vita*, etc., pp. 21 ff.; Olcott and Heywood, *Guide to Siena*, p. 300; Gielly, *op. cit.*, p. 64; Mather, *A History of Italian Painting*, p. 90; van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 358; Venturi, *op. cit.*, vol. V, pp. 684 ff.; Cecchi, *op. cit.*, p. 63. The frescoes were at one time in the Sala del Capitolo.

[2] Tizio, *apud* Della Valle, vol. II, p. 213.

[3] Thode, *op. cit.*, p. 9; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. Murray, vol. II, p. 125; ed. Douglas, vol. III, p. 99, note 2; Perkins, *op. cit.*, p. 23; Gielly, *Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne*, 1912 (vol. XXXII), p. 454; Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

34. Rome. Vatican Gallery. St. Peter. Pietro Lorenzetti

35. Rome. Vatican Gallery. St. John the Baptist. Pietro Lorenzetti

36. New York. Metropolitan Museum. St. Catherine. Pietro Lorenzetti

can missionaries by the Soldan of Morocco have been attributed to Pietro by Peraté and Berenson. Cavalcaselle believed them the joint work of Pietro and Ambrogio. Most of the other critics consider them the work of Ambrogio.[1] In fact the types of faces are the same as those in the procession below the figure of Peace in the fresco of the Good Government in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena, such as the young man in the peace procession who is turning around to speak to the group behind him and the young man in the top row of the St. Louis fresco. The violent feeling expressed in the martyrdom fresco has swayed many to see here the hand of Pietro. But the faces are the same Ambrogian types seen in the St. Louis and Good Government frescoes contorted under the stress of emotion. The little snub-nosed children are the same as the snub-nosed figures below the figure of Justice in Siena. The monks and the soldan and his court have the broad foreheads, the pointed noses and chins, and the high cheek-bones which give the faces the squarish look so characteristic of Ambrogio. There is also a pervading spirit of delicacy and charm even in the horrible scene of the martyrdom of the Franciscans which is again more like Ambrogio's style in its lack of seriousness and earnestness when treating an emotional subject.

For a long time the fresco series attributed to Pietro Lorenzetti in the Lower Church of San Francesco at Assisi has presented a vexing problem[2] (Figs. 44–61). The paintings begin at the top of the vault of the north transept and continue down the side walls on either side. Beginning at the top of the eastern curve of the vault are the Entry into Jerusalem and the Last Supper; in the row below, the Washing of the Feet and the Bètrayal; below these, Judas hanging himself and St. Francis receiving the Stigmata. On the other side beginning with the western curve of the vault are the Flagellation and the Road to Calvary, and below these and corresponding to four of the other scenes as to space is the Crucifixion. Below the Crucifixion and to the left is a Madonna and Child, half-length, flanked by St. John the Evangelist and St. Francis. As a sort of predella to this Madonna there are five square panels. The centre

[1] Jacobsen, *op. cit.*, p. 40; Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 189; Peraté, in Michel, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. IIB, p. 862; Perkins, *op. cit.*, p. 23; Olcott, *op. cit.*, p. 300; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. Murray, vol. II, p. 136; Venturi, *op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 674; van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 385.

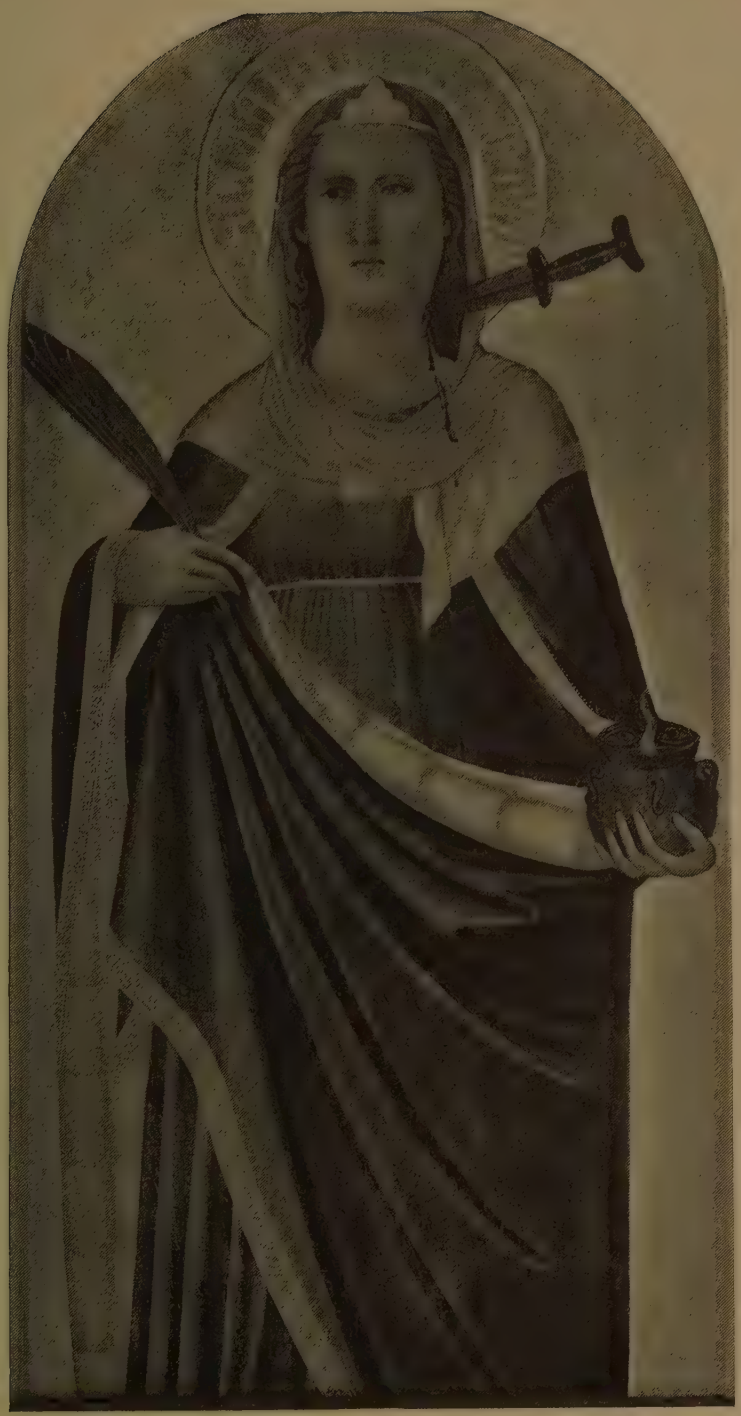
[2] Vasari, ed. Sansoni, vol. I, pp. 379, 403, 540; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. Murray, vol. II, pp. 125–131; ed. Hutton, vol. II, pp. 82–86; ed. Douglas, vol. III, pp. 99–104; *Kunsthistorische Gesellschaft*, vols. III and VI, for plates; Dobbert, *Sienesische Malerschule*, p. 46; v. Rumohr, in *Cicerone*, p. 517; Rothes, *op. cit.*, p. 17; Thode, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, vol. XI, p. 20; Idem, *Franz von Assisi*, ed. 1885, pp. 278–279; Schubring, in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, vol. XXIII, p. 345, note 2; Berenson, *op. cit.*, pp. 187–188; Peraté, in Michel, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. IIB, p. 863; Perkins, *Vita*, etc., pp. 14–21; Idem, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, vol. IV, fasc. I; Venturi, *op. cit.*, vol. V, pp. 680–694; Idem, *La Basilica di Assisi*, p. 138; van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 351; Mather, *op. cit.*, p. 68; Gielly, *Les Primitifs Siennois*, pp. 70 ff.; Supino, *La Basilica di San Francesco di Assisi* (Bologua, 1924), pp. 266 ff.; Kleinschmidt, *Die Basilica S. Francesco in Assisi* (Berlin, 1926), vol. II, pp. 176–184; Cecchi, *op. cit.*, p. 94. The coats of arms which appear beneath the Madonna with St. Francis and St. John the Evangelist have been interpreted by Vasari as those of Walter of Athens, by Kleinschmidt as those of Duke Charles of Calabria, and by Supino as those of Giovanni Simone.

panel contains a small Christ Crucified; this is flanked on either side respectively by two panels containing coats of arms and portraits of the donors. The portrait to the right is the only one which has survived but it was undoubtedly balanced by another at the other end. On the north wall of the transept on either side of the archway opening into the north chapel of San Giovanni are the Descent to Hell and the Resurrection at the top, and below them the Deposition and the Entombment. Under the Deposition, square fresco panels contain the busts of St. Nicholas, St. Catherine, St. Afra, and St. Margaret. Over the altar in the north chapel is a fresco in the form of a triptych with the Madonna and Child flanked by St. John the Baptist and St. Francis.

Vasari had originally attributed these frescoes to Puccio Campana with the exception of the Stigmatization of St. Francis, which he gave to Giotto, and the Crucifixion, which he said was by Cavallini. Since Cavalcaselle first noticed their Lorenzettian character all the critics have followed him either in attributing them all or in part to Pietro or to his school.

The series falls rather evidently into two distinct groups. The first comprises the frescoes from the Entry into Jerusalem up to and including the Road to Calvary. And the artist who executed them shows himself as a more immature and a much weaker man than Pietro. His tendency is to exaggerate all the qualities of our painter. First of all his compositions are overcrowded and loaded with descriptive detail such as Pietro never used, and such as is found in most of the later followers of the Lorenzettian tradition. In the Last Supper, for instance, the main theme is almost completely lost in the artist's interest in the genre details of the setting. The rafters of the room, the utensils on the table, the maid scraping the dishes so that the animals in the kitchen may eat, the moon and the stars outside, are all detractions from the main theme which is practically lost. Note how in this scene as also in the Flagellation the perspective is so arranged that one is able to look up at the ceiling and down at the floor with equal ease to ascertain the details thereof. As a second consideration, the emotional quality of all the figures in these frescoes is in most cases uncalled for. In his attempt to portray emotion the artist overdoes it; figures pirouette about or are hunched up to one side or another, hair and beards are unduly agitated, heads are cocked to one side, eyes pop and squint, and brows frown and leer out at the spectator with really comic results. Even in the medallions of the decorative borders between the frescoes the busts of the saints are all given the over-agitated look. Finally, the types exaggerate Pietro's in almost every detail. The eyes are much smaller and rounder, and where the squint is used it is overstressed. The Pietran nose becomes bulbous and the line of the jaw is either too square or else falls too quickly to the chin, making on the one hand too blocky a head

37. Lastra a Signa. Perkins Collection. Female saint. Pietro Lorenzetti



38. Florence. Sta. Lucia tra le Rovinate. St. Lucy. Pietro Lorenzetti

39. Castiglion d'Orcia, S. Stefano. Madonna and Child. Pietro Lorenzetti
(Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library)

and on the other an over-elongated one. And how flat and stringy is the drapery!

The same artist is responsible for the Madonna in the north chapel (Fig. 59). His hand is betrayed in the generally agitated quality of the whole piece and in the types. Compare the St. John the Baptist with several of the apostles in the Entry into Jerusalem (Fig. 61).

The other group, which includes the scenes on the north wall and also the Stigmatization of St. Francis, the Crucifixion, and the Madonna below it, is similarly homogeneous. But the essential quality is far different from the first group. The composition of the scenes is more concentrated, there is more restraint and less commotion. There is a finesse and a grandeur quite absent from the other man's style. Even the color effects are softer. In the Deposition, in the Entombment, and in the Madonna the effect is quite that of Pietro. And yet there is so much to disturb one. Chiefly do I refer to the bad articulation of hands and feet, the thin fingers which are different from Pietro's, hands that seem unable to grasp the objects they are holding. The noses are thinner with very little width to the nostrils. And yet again compare the foreshortened head of one of the sleeping soldiers in the Resurrection with the foreshortened head of the angel to the right of the Crucified in San Francesco at Siena, or the bulky profile of the shoulder of St. John the Evangelist in the Madonna group with that of the St. Matthew in the Arezzo altarpiece. And the little Crucifixion below the Madonna at Assisi has all the beauty and quality of the one at Siena.

This discrepancy, arising on the one hand from qualities which are so definitely Pietro's and on the other hand from details of execution which would deny his work, might be explained by the supposition that the greater part of the execution was done by a capable but weaker assistant. A more careful examination of the wall surface and the paint, however, shows that there has been a good deal of repairing and retouching chiefly of the flesh parts of the frescoes. The wall surface on which are the Crucifixion and the Madonna shows these ravages very plainly. In the latter some portions, such as the lower left-hand corner, were so badly gone that the restorer merely covered them up with dark paint, for instance, the left panel of the predella portion. And in retouching the faces, for example, the restorer has so straightened out the lines of the eyes and mouths and smoothed out the modelling of such details as the lips (which in Pietro give the pursed effect) that the whole impression is a softer and weaker one than is found in Pietro's original works. That this retouching has been going on continually is shown by a comparison of two photographs of the donor figure beneath St. John (Fig. 60), one of which was taken more recently than the other.

The large Crucifixion scene (Figs. 50, 51) is interesting because of the ma-

terial for comparison which exists in the Crucifixions at Cortona (Fig. 26) and San Francesco at Siena (Fig. 37). It takes a sort of midway position between the two, and is perhaps closer to the former in style, in the treatment of bulk, and in the plasticity of the drapery. In these points the Siena Crucifixion is the most advanced. In the cartello over the cross the same spacing of the letters is observed at Assisi as at Cortona. And for types, one might compare the St. John in the right-hand medallion of the Cortona Crucifix with the angel at the right of the Assisi cartello and the St. John at Siena.

The date of the series has been placed by Supino and Kleinschmidt at the end of the twenties or at the beginning of the thirties. In the light of the close comparison of the style with the Cortona Crucifix and also of the extreme approximation of the Madonna below this fresco to the Montichiello Madonna, which must date before 1329 according to all the evidences of style and iconography, I should date the series between 1325 and 1329.[1]

V

Although it is not my intention to discuss the many products of the school of Pietro Lorenzetti in this article, there are several groups of works which have often been attributed to Pietro himself. About these I should like to make a few observations.

In the first volume of Art Studies[2] five years ago I published an article in which I contended that a certain group of pictures usually attributed to Pietro Lorenzetti were really the work of a younger pupil. I submitted a good deal of evidence to support my contention, which, I believe, is now more or less generally accepted. Mr. van Marle in his second volume of the *Italian Schools of Painting* and in a note in the fifth volume still attributes them to Pietro,[3] and as a matter of fact to a period prior to 1320. In this he is merely following the older tradition of attributions to Pietro, a tradition which can no longer hold in the light of the actual evidence. I shall consequently restate some of the evidence which led me to my original contention and add a few more cogent observations as well.

The chief members of the group under discussion are: the Madonna in the church of S. Pietro Ovile in Siena (after whom I called the artist the master of the Ovile Madonna); in the Belle Arte at Siena Madonna (no. 80), Madonna

[1] Note also that the costumes of the St. Catherine and the St. Margaret in Figs. 56, 57 have the same type of beaded border which is found on the Montichiello Madonna, and on the St. Margaret in the Horne Collection in Florence.

[2] E. T. DeWald, in *Art Studies*, vol. I, pp. 45 ff. And see the attributions in Perkins's notes for the Siena panels in the revised edition of Heywood and Olcott's *Guide to Siena* (1924). Also Gielly, *op. cit.*, p. 67, note 1; and Beencken in *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1928–29, Heft 4, pp. 73 ff.

[3] Van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 330 ff., and vol. V, p. 456.

40. Lastra a Signa. Perkins Collection. Madonna and Child. Pietro Lorenzetti
(Courtesy of Mr. F. Mason Perkins and the Frick Art Reference Library)

41. Florence. Serristori Collection. Madonna and Child. Pietro Lorenzetti
(Courtesy of Mr. Richard Offner)

(no. 76), the Assumption of the Virgin (no. 61), and a St. Gregory (no. 59); the Madonna in the Bordonaro-Chiaramonte Collection at Palermo; the Madonna at Grosseto; the Madonna in the Maitland Griggs Collection at New York (formerly at Durlacher's); and the Nativity in the Fogg Museum[1] (Figs. 65–73).

That Mr. van Marle's early dating of the group under discussion is impossible, is obvious for several reasons. First of all, the thrones are later types and not early ones. The throne of the Siena Madonna (no. 76,) though of a lower back, is related closely to the throne of Pietro's Madonna in the Uffizi, and one could possibly concede a date in the thirties. The high-backed brocaded throne, however, of the Siena Madonna (no. 80), the Grosseto Madonna, and the Ovile Madonna, where the angels are holding up the drapery, belongs to the traditions of the second half of the Trecento. The type of throne of the Siena Madonna (no. 80) in particular with the angels in attitudes of folded arms or joined hands derives from the Uffizi Madonna, which has a transitional position between the earlier architectural and Cosmatesque thrones and the later high-backed and brocaded Gothic ones. The type of Siena (no. 80) is the kind to be found frequently in artists like the Vanni, Luca di and Paolo di Giovanni Fei, Tomè, with whom it is the usual thing, that is, artists dating in the fifties and sixties (Figs. 62–64). To be sure, the idea is derived from a type found early in Segna di Buonaventura but there the Cosmatesque thrones and other early elements are in obvious contrast to the later ones which give witness to the triumph of Gothic elegance in Italian painting of the mid-century. The throne type with the scalloped drapery back of the Maitland Griggs Madonna and that of Siena (no. 80) which is held up by the angels, is also to be found in the works of the Daddesque artists and of the Orcagnas.[2]

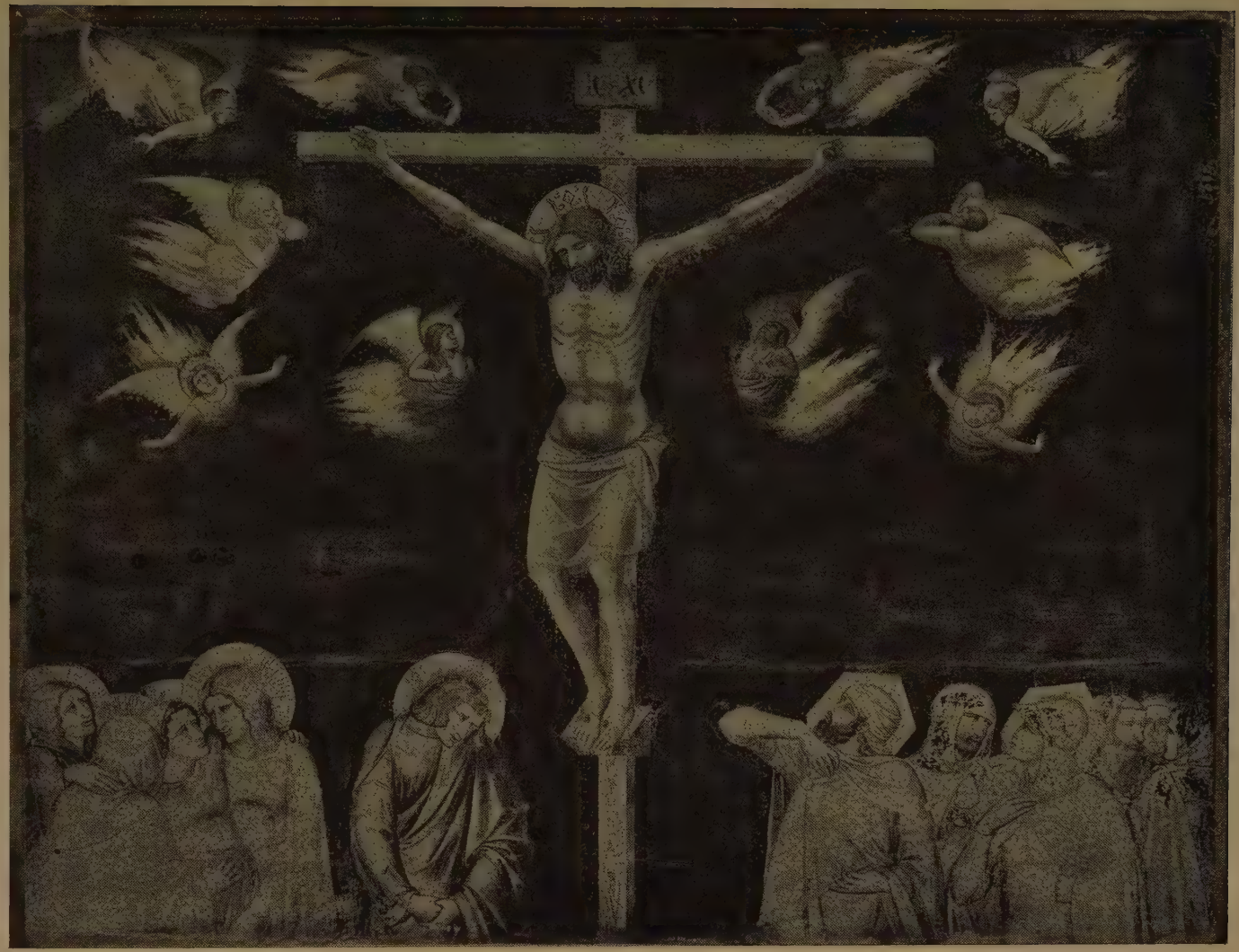
A second feature that goes with the greater ornateness of the altarpieces of the second half of the Trecento is the use of decorated cusps to divide the main arch of the frame or moulding under which the Madonna is seated. In the Siena Madonna (no. 80), these are even further subdivided. This is an innovation of Simone Martini's which, however, does not become general until the middle of the century. Compare again the works of the Vanni, Luca di Tomè and Paolo di Giovanni Fei and their milieu (Figs. 62–64). It is not until their time that these cusps are used to enclose the head or heads of the angels grouped about the Madonna's throne in the manner which obtains in our group of Madonnas.

[1] There are many other panels to be added to this group, which I believe Dr. Richard Offner is to publish at some future date. In my article in *Art Studies*, I, I pointed out similarities to the Ovile Master in the Montepulciano Coronation of the Virgin. Through an error the plate bears the name of the Ovile Master. I do not believe it to be a work of that master himself.

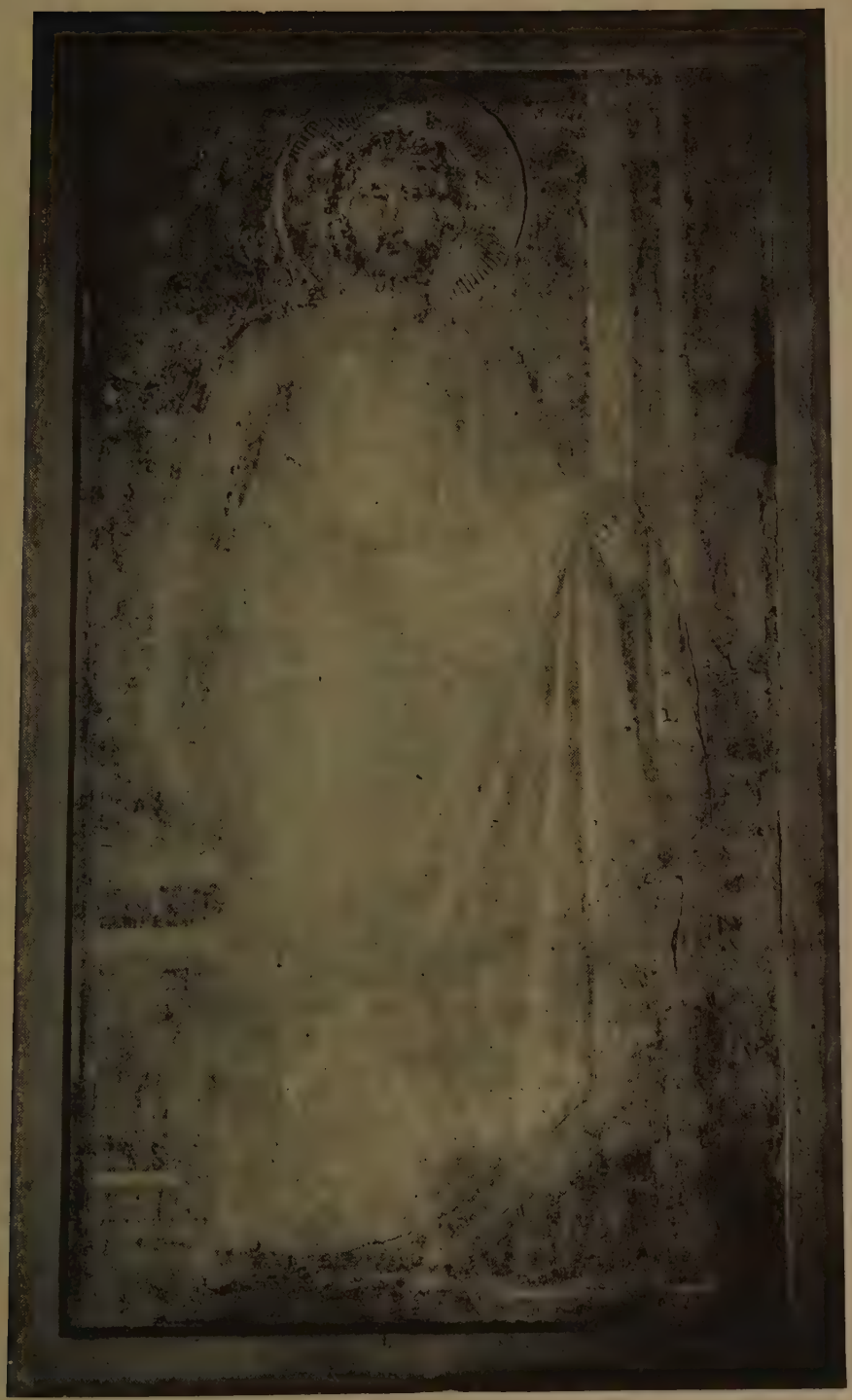
[2] See illustrations in van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. III, Figs. 232, 262, 295, 326.

Evidence, then, points to an artist who was active between the thirties and the seventies of the Trecento and not to one who produced all these Madonnas before 1320. And that this artist was not Pietro Lorenzetti is apparent by a comparison of the types of the Madonna, the Christ Child, angels, and prophets found in both groups of work. These comparisons, made in the original article, may be in part repeated here. I am reproducing a group of angels' heads of the Ovile master (Fig. 70, 71) so as to make more clear the difference between the very round types of that artist, particularly round in the back part of the head, in contrast to those of Pietro. We might also set alongside each other some of the Madonna types of each man and note how the differences emerge. How much less emphatic is the Ovile artist, however he approximates certain details of Pietro in nose, mouth, and chin. But the general shape of the head is again rounder. Pietro's contrapostal look is nowhere found in any of the angels, prophets, or Madonnas. And the Madonnas all have a homogeneous type of headdress which is not found in any period of Pietro's work, consisting of an opaque, stiffly starched and finely pleated veil which protrudes slightly from underneath the covering mantle. The parted "taffy" hair which shows beneath the veil is also the same in all the Madonnas except in the Assumption, where none is in evidence. The whole effect of these Madonnas with their calligraphic drapery, their brocaded dresses and backdrops, the many cusped arches, and the choirs of small heads of saints and angels in the spandrils is wonderfully decorative, with the emphasis distinctly on decoration rather than on content. In Pietro's more elaborate moments, as we have noted in the Uffizi Madonna, he produced marvellously tooled haloes and accessory brocades but these are merely accompaniments to his greater emphasis on form and content and tend to throw them into greater relief.

A close comparison can be made between the Assumption on Pietro's Arezzo altarpiece and the one by the other master in the Siena Academy (Figs. 8, 68, and 69). The iconography of the Siena piece is obviously copied from Pietro's and his facial types approximated. But note how much fatter the head, how much beadier the eyes, how much deader and duller is the whole expression of the face than in Pietro's work. And note, again, the relation of the upper part of the body to the lower part in each picture. Pietro establishes a fine series of pyramidally diminishing masses from the bottom to the top; the Ovile Master produces a sack of concrete. A similar contrast in expression can be seen by setting the St. Gregory (no. 59 in the Siena Academy) alongside any of the saints in the Arezzo altarpiece. All which reduces to the difference between a live, active, dramatic personality and one that is softer, gentler, and more flaccid.



42. Siena. San Francesco. Crucifixion. Pietro Lorenzetti



43. Siena. San Francesco, refectory. Christ Risen. Pietro Lorenzetti

44. Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. The Entry into Jerusalem.
Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti

45. Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. The Last Supper.
Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti

46. Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. The Washing of the Apostles' Feet. Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti

47. Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. The Betrayal. Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti

Another homogeneous group of pictures is composed of the enthroned Madonna in the Poldi-Pezzoli at Milan [1] (Fig. 74), the triptych in the Dijon Museum [2] (Figs. 77–80), the Münster [3] Madonna (Fig. 85), the standing Madonna with donor in Mr. Berenson's collection, [4] and the Loeser Madonna in Florence [5] (Figs. 81, 82). Mr. van Marle places most of these paintings also in the period of Pietro's activity before 1320. The youthful quality of this work, full of sweetness and charm and totally lacking in force or mature content or character probably accounts for this attribution. But again they cannot be of that date. On the one hand, for practically the same reason which I put forward with regard to the Ovile group, the thrones of the Madonnas and the arrangement of the angel heads behind them are types which belong to the middle and second half of the Trecento. In the second place, the iconography of the Madonna and the Child of the Milan and Dijon Madonnas is identical with that of the Uffizi Madonna by Pietro, except that the left hand of the Babe rests on its thigh as it does in the Madonna at Castiglione d'Orcia. Note that the Madonna's mantle is gathered together at the breast by a brooch, and that one of the hems in its downward sweep falls almost directly to the ground, whereas the other swings around the Christ Child across the Madonna's lap and then runs tangent to the other hem to the ground. This bit of iconography as well as the position of the Madonna's hands and of the Child is identical in the three paintings and is quite different from the arrangements in Pietro's earlier Madonnas. Consequently we have to do here with two small echoes of the monumental Uffizi Madonna by a youthful or weaker imitator of Pietro. Or are we to suppose that Pietro used this type before 1320 and abandoned it for twenty years only to revive it line for line in the Uffizi Madonna? Against this is of course the evidence of the thrones and angels which I have already mentioned, and also the very sharp form of the pinnacles used in the Berenson and Milan Madonnas. The form of the Milan pinnacle with its leaf decoration is identical with the triptych attributed to Paolo di Giovanni Fei in Siena (Figs. 75, 76); even the disposition of the Madonna group below is not very different and shows to what part of the Trecento the four panels under discussion must be assigned. The haloes of the Berenson and Milan Madonnas also show the coarse punch work visible in the Fei triptych. Note also the wide spacing of the fingers on the hands of this master.

[1] Thode, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, vol. XI, p. 9; Rothes, *op. cit.*, p. 17; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. Douglas, vol. III, p. 107, note 9; Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 188; Perkins, *Vita*, etc., p. 39; van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 333; Cecchi, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

[2] E. F. Mercier, *L'Art et les Artistes*, Nov., 1922; van Marle, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1923, p. 62; Idem, *The Italian Schools of Painting*, vol. II, p. 330.

[3] Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

[4] Perkins, *op. cit.*, p. 37; Idem, *Burl. Mag.* (1904), p. 582; van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 337.

[5] Jacobsen, *op. cit.*, p. 36; Gielly, *Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne*, 1912, p. 454; Perkins, *Vita*, etc., *loc. cit.*; van Marle, *loc. cit.*

The same soft personality seems to me to be responsible for the small panels in the Vatican [1] and National Galleries [2] (Figs. 83, 84), the one depicting Christ before Pilate, and the other three saints brought before a Roman tribunal. A comparison of the faces in the latter with some of the angels in the Milan panel shows striking resemblances. The only remaining possibility is of course that these paintings are the latest of Pietro's career. But one would have to assume a paralysis of his faculties to consider these feeble creations as products of the same personality who produced the Nativity at Siena. Nor is the argument that in smaller panels the power of the artist is toned down at all cogent here, as the small scenes in the Arezzo altarpiece show.

An attribution to Pietro Lorenzetti which it is about time to abandon is that of the Sta. Umiltà altarpiece of which the major portion is in the Uffizi (Fig. 87). The large full-length figure of the saint with a kneeling abbess as donor is the central panel of the altarpiece and is surrounded by smaller panels with representations of miracles performed by her. There were originally thirteen of these; two of them are now in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin (Figs. 88, 89). Below the panel with the figure of the saint runs an inscription which is now most generally read as 1341. But because of the peculiar form of the "L" it was frequently interpreted as 1316.[3] The advanced quality of the disposition of the architecture and of the figures in relation to the architecture indicates a compositional tradition more recent than 1316. Other details as well are indicative of the later date. The hats worn by the young men in several of the panels are of the same style as those found in a polyptych in the church at Ottana, datable between 1338 and 1344, and also in the Sant'Agostino altarpiece, which is generally dated about 1340.

But why the attribution to Pietro Lorenzetti? It is true that the face of the saint has certain Lorenzettian features, though these are not very pronounced. But even these are hard to find in the small figures in the side panels. As for

[1] No. 9. Thode, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, vol. XI, p. 11, note; Jacobsen, *op. cit.*, p. 41; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. Douglas, vol. III, pp. 106, 108, note; Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 188; Siren, *L'Arte*, vol. IX, pp. 326–328; Perkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 37–38; Venturi, *op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 694; van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 341; Gielly, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

[2] No. 1113, and formerly in the Fairfax Murray Collection. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. Douglas, vol. III, p. 97; Hutton, *The Sienese School in the National Gallery* (London, 1925), p. 32; Venturi, *op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 696, note 1; van Marle, *op. cit.*, p. 341; Cecchi, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

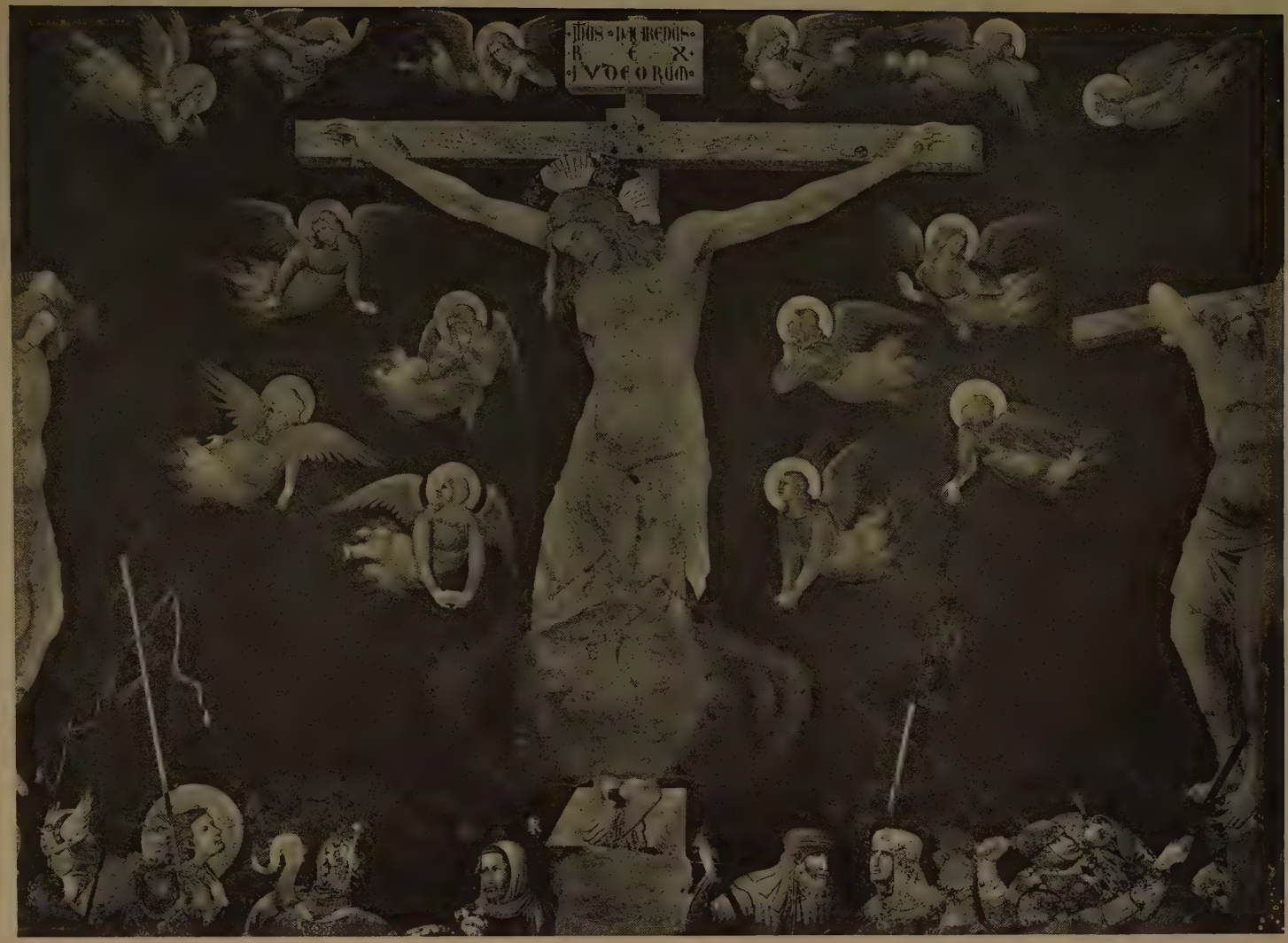
[3] Suida, *Florentinische Meister*, p. 1, note 5; Thode, *op. cit.*, pp. 7 ff.; Lafenestre et Richtenberg, *La Peinture en Europe — Florence* (Paris), p. 199; Fairfax Murray in Burckhardt's *Cicerone* (Leipzig, 1893), p. 541; Cruttwell, *The Florentine Galleries*, p. 253; Schubring, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, vol. XXIII, p. 395; Idem, *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, vol. XIV, p. 375; Idem, *Berlin, Königliche Museen*, vol. I, p. 7; Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 188; Perkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 35–36; DeNicola, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1919, p. 95; van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 368; Gielly, *op. cit.*, pp. 62, 64; Cecchi, *op. cit.*, p. 95; Venturi, *op. cit.*, vol. V, pp. 668–672.

The old catalogue gave Buffalmacco as the painter. Fairfax Murray first attributed it to Pietro, which attribution has been generally accepted. Schubring and Venturi have ranged themselves against this attribution. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. Douglas, vol. III, p. 92; ed. Hutton, vol. II, p. 164. For information concerning the saint see the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandist fathers under May 5, p. 212, and Brocchi, *Vite di Beati Fiorentini* (Florence, 1742), vol. I, p. 293.

48. Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. The Flagellation.
Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti

49. Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. The Road to Calvary.
Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti

50. Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. Crucifixion. Pietro Lorenzetti and Follower



51. Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. Detail of Crucifixion. Pietro Lorenzetti

the rest, the canon of the figures with small round heads and long bodies, the thin hands, the metallic drapery, and the peculiar color scheme with emphasis on browns and pinks are something quite apart from Pietro. This is even more evident in the tradition of the architectural compositions in the small panels. The approach to this problem is not at all that which we found in the predella pieces of the Carmine, much less that of Pietro's Nativity of the Virgin at Siena which dates a year after this altarpiece, but reflects the Florentine tradition which is present in the panels by the St. Cecilia master at Montici or San Miniato, or those in Bernardo Daddi's polyptych in the Uffizi.

A panel that has been persistently attributed to Pietro is the so-called Allegory of the Cross in the Siena Gallery (no. 92) formerly in the Convent of Monna Agnese [1] (Fig. 90). A great deal of the detail of the painting has disappeared as the result of time. But through the courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library, I am able to reproduce here details which have not been available so far and which give a clear indication of the style of the work (Figs. 91–93).

There are many evidences which preclude a date within the lifetime of Pietro Lorenzetti. The central subject is Christ Crucified, placed between the stories of the Creation and Fall of Man to the left of the panel and the abbreviated Last Judgment to the right. The three representations are given significance by the figure of a hermit who is holding a scroll and pointing out a heap of corpses to a group of people who approach from the right. It is a theme frequent in the latter half of the Trecento wherein the abstinence from worldly life is urged upon the public, as for example in the Campo Santo frescoes at Pisa. The popularity of this theme was due largely to the effects of the plague which ravaged Italy in 1348, to which Pietro Lorenzetti himself is believed to have fallen victim. The handling of the landscape, too, is quite different from that of the Lorenzettian landscapes we know. The best of these is that by Ambrogio in the Good Government fresco in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena. In this fresco the landscape is treated topographically and descriptively and is shown as seen from a height at an angle of about 45 degrees. In the panel, on the other hand, there is an attempt to introduce perspective and to relate the landscape to a horizon line. Note most particularly the perspective of the castle shown on the hill to the right of the centre of the panel. It is the type of landscape frequent in the late Trecento and early Quattrocento wherein the old medieval treatment was being fused with the

[1] Jacobsen, *op. cit.*, p. 34; Rothes, *op. cit.*, pp. 90 ff., and plate XL; Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 189; Olcott, *op. cit.*, p. 323; Perkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 27–28; Idem, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, vol. IV, p. 55; Venturi, *op. cit.*, vol. V, pp. 678–680; van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 360; Gielly, *op. cit.*, p. 67, note 1; Idem, *Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne* (vol. XXXII), 1912, p. 454; Peraté, in Michel, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. IIB, p. 876; Idem, in *Mélanges Paul Fabre*, pp. 436 ff.; Cecchi, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

new scientific style — the sort of thing one finds in the early Masolinos. The style and graceful pose of the Adam and Eve in the Expulsion episode at the upper left side of the panel betrays the same almost Quattrocento feeling, surely far removed from Pietro Lorenzetti. Some of the facial types, it is true, show Lorenzettian traditions, but the individual details are those of a late follower thereof.

The two landscape panels in the Siena gallery (nos. 70 and 71,[1] Figs. 94, 95), have been attributed both to Pietro and to Ambrogio, but there is nothing to make either of these attributions certain. They are handled after the panoramic and descriptive method instituted by Ambrogio, but they might just as well be by some artist working in this tradition. The label in the Siena catalogue, "maniera di Ambrogio Lorenzetti," seems to me as far as one can safely go.[2]

Finally we shall consider a set of frescoes in the church of the Servi at Siena[3] which has been attributed to Pietro Lorenzetti. The scenes represented are: the Dance of Salome and the Decapitation of St. John the Baptist; the Assumption of St. John the Evangelist; and the Slaughter of the Innocents.

In the Dance of Salome, the feast of Herod takes place under a loggia covered by a ribbed vault carrying a balcony (Fig. 96). Herod, a companion, and Herod's wife are seated at the table before which Salome is dancing to the accompaniment of music supplied by a youth at the left. At the right of the table the executioner advances with the head of the saint on a platter. To the extreme right of the composition is the prison where the execution is being consummated, and on the balcony the young princess is bringing the head to

[1] Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 189; Perkins, *Vita*, etc., pp. 29–30; Olcott, *op. cit.*, p. 323; van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 360.

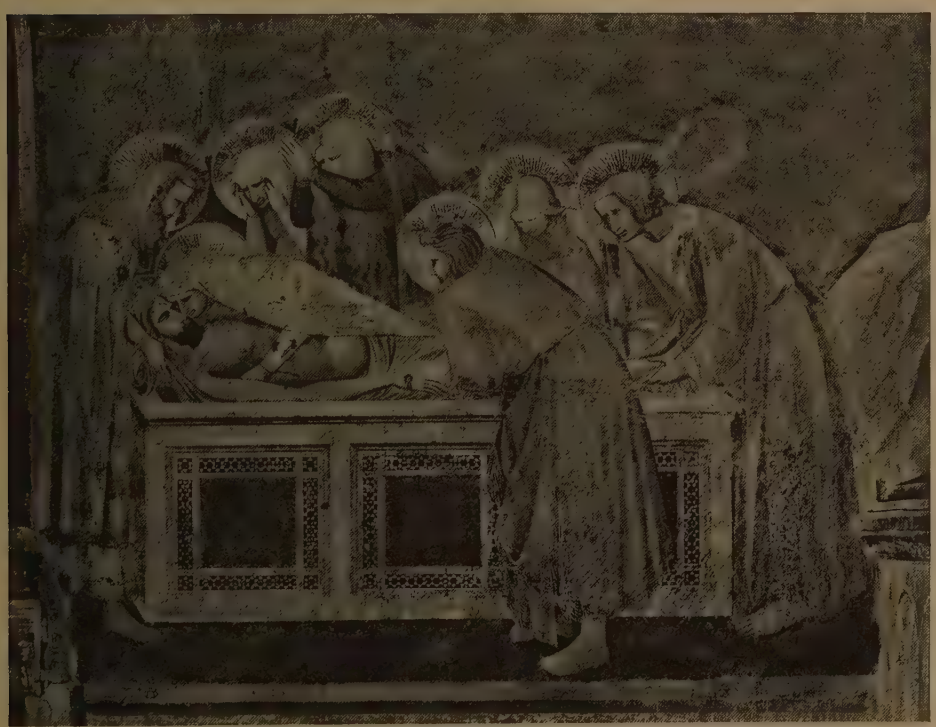
[2] Venturi, in the fifth volume of his *Storia dell 'Arte Italiana*, p. 696, note 1, and in his *La Galleria Sterbini* (Roma, 1906); Jacobsen, *op. cit.*, p. 41, note, and van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 326, attribute to Pietro a series of half-length saints. These seem, however, to be the work of some follower of Segna rather than of Pietro.

I have been able neither to see nor to get photographs of the following pictures attributed to Pietro: (*a*) a small Madonna and Child and angels in the collection of F. Mason Perkins at Lastra a Signa (Perkins, *op. cit.*, p. 37); (*b*) an allegorical figure from San Francesco, Siena, in the former Corvisieri Collection at Rome; (*c*) a bishop blessing, the same Collection; (*d*) two busts of prophets in the former Stroganoff Collection, Rome (Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 189); in (*e*) a Madonna and Child with donor in the Ulrich Jaeger collection, Genoa (Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 188), unless this is the Madonna in Mr. Berenson's own collection at present; (*f*) the Madonna in the Lanz Collection at Amsterdam, which Mr. van Marle attributes in his second volume, p. 370, note 2.

The Madonna and Child in the church of Sta. Lucia del Gonfalone in the Via delle Botteghe Oscure at Rome, which is mentioned in Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. Murray, vol. II, p. 133, in the *Cicerone*, p. 629, and in Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 189, is certainly a modern copy, as Venturi in his fifth volume of the *Storia dell'Arte*, p. 696, note, and Perkins, *op. cit.*, p. 38, have pointed out. Cavalcaselle may have seen the original, for the *custode* told me that it replaces an old picture which was there at one time.

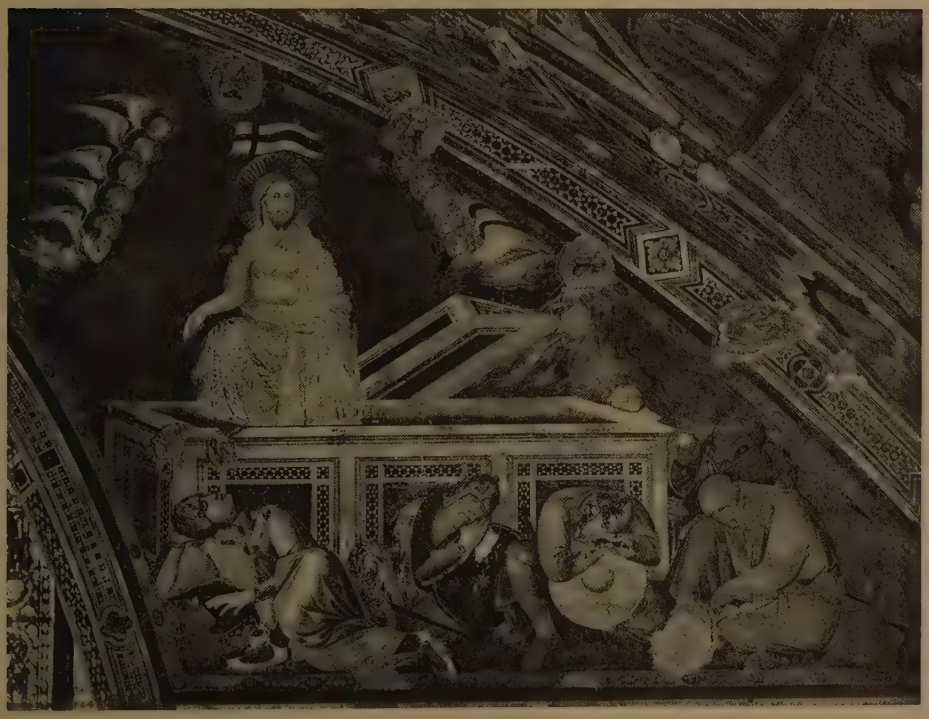
[3] *Kunsthistorische Gesellschaft*, vol. VI, Pls. XII–XIV; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. Douglas, vol. III, p. 107, note 9*8; Jacobsen, *op. cit.*, p. 40; Berenson, *op. cit.*, pp. 189–190; Olcott, *op. cit.*, pp. 283–284; Perkins, *op. cit.*, p. 24; Peraté, *op. cit.*, vol. IIb, p. 863; Venturi, *op. cit.*, vol. V, 695–696; van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 337; Gielly, *op. cit.*, p. 67, note 1; Idem, *Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne*, 1912, p. 454; Cecchi, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

52. Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. The Deposition. Pietro Lorenzetti



53. Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. The Entombment. Pietro Lorenzetti

54. Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. The Descent to Hell. Pietro Lorenzetti



55. Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. The Resurrection. Pietro Lorenzetti

56. Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. Sts. Nicholas and Catherine. Pietro Lorenzetti

57. Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. Sts. Afra and Margaret. Pietro Lorenzetti

her mother. The composition of the scene is poor and confused, one episode merging into another without any sense of division. Comparing it with Giotto's representation of the scene in Sta. Croce in Florence one finds only one point of contact — the fiddler. Otherwise the differences are very great. Giotto has arranged the figures and the architecture with much greater expertness and feeling for the space which they occupy. The artist here has attempted a composition of the asymmetrical kind used by Pietro Lorenzetti, but with no success. In the arrangement of his figures he has reversed Giotto's order both as to the figures at the table and as to the executioner who is bringing in the head of St. John, and has placed the last scene of the tragedy on the balcony where it is scarcely discernible. The treatment of the figures is very poor. Besides being expressionless, many are out of scale with the rest so as to emphasize the episodes which the artist has so hopelessly confused in his composition. Devoid of weight, they appear to be dangling in the air. The difference between this and any of Pietro's predella compositions or even the Siena Nativity is striking. The drawing, too, is much more careless than is usual in a Pietro. A good contrast is afforded by comparing the figures bringing in the presents in the Siena panel with the executioner and the wine-pourer in this fresco. How real and well drawn each detail in the one case, and how insipid and amateurish in the other!

In the Assumption of St. John the Evangelist (Fig. 97), we can again make a comparison with Giotto, who portrayed this episode in Sta. Croce. At the right, the funeral procession is about to enter the church with monks carrying tapers and the coffin, while in the rest of the picture the Assumption of the saint is shown. The saint rises toward heaven to be received by Christ and His apostles to the amazement of his disciples, who are gazing either heavenward or down into the empty tomb. The background shows the vaulted aisles of the church. Again the major episodes are composed with no special architectural settings to emphasize the one or the other, as Giotto has done or as Pietro would have done; the foremost monk breaks abruptly into the right group of the Assumption scene. Giotto used only the Assumption episode and arranged it symmetrically as was his custom at that time, and his St. John rises from the tomb in the centre of the composition with the disciples arranged in balanced groups on either side under the colonnaded aisles, thus accentuating the central theme. Opposed to this the Servi artist has adopted the Lorenzettian asymmetrical composition of the square and the rectangle but has failed to adjust the figures to it. He could not resist putting the ascending saint in the centre of his composition and thus confusing the meaning of the groups and their relations to each other and to the architecture. In addition, he has overdone Pietro's realisms and characteristics, with a ludicrous result. The eyes show too much white, the heads are spasmodically

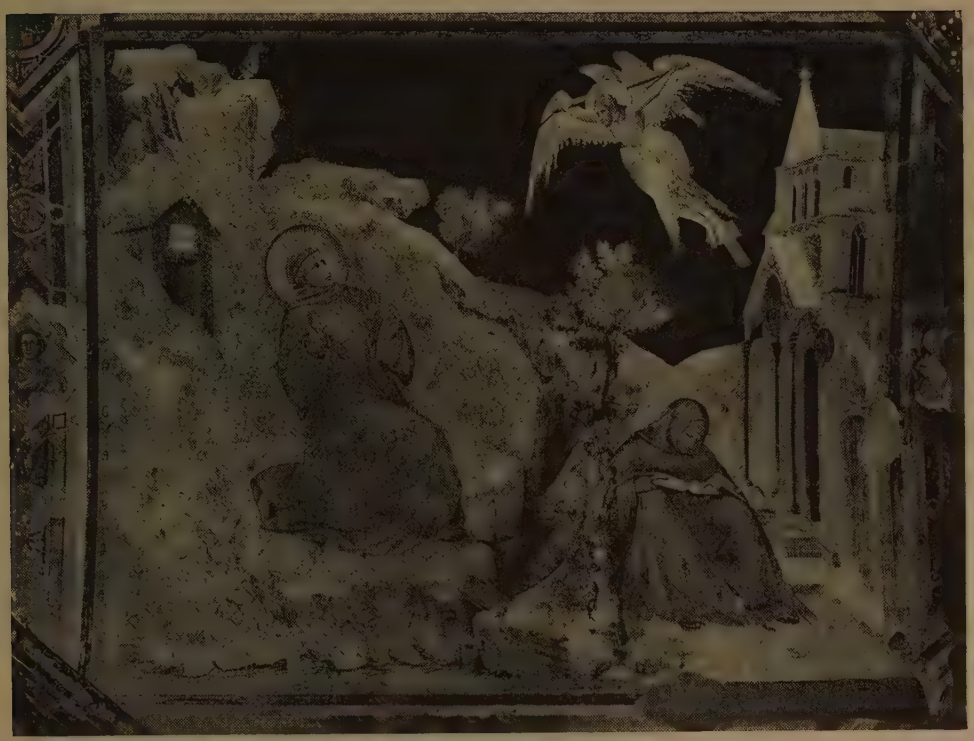
tilted, and the drapery is exaggerated in the movement of its lines. The hands are especially weak and flat. Everything indicates a weak follower of Pietro.

The Slaughter of the Innocents (Fig. 98) comes closer to Pietro than the other two. It is a subject that was done by all of the great predecessors of Pietro: the Pisani, Duccio, and Giotto. The scene here represents an open piazza with a lofty balcony to the left from which Herod commands the massacre which is taking place below in the square. It is filled with soldiers, mothers and babes, giving a sense of great confusion and horror. The heap of dead children, the squatting mothers tearing their hair and wailing, and the ruthless soldiers, are borrowed from the representations by the Pisani. The Herod motif is taken from Giotto, for in the scenes by the Pisani and Duccio the Byzantine tradition, whereby Herod and his counsellors are seated or enthroned under a portico, is used. The mounted troopers in the background are also Giottesque, used for the first time, I believe, in the lower church at Assisi.

The attempt at dramatic action in this fresco is worthy of Pietro himself, but the details again betray the follower. The faces are too broad and compressed, the noses and lips exaggerated, and the hands very weakly done, conveying no effect of grasping or holding. The soldier at the extreme right and some of the babes in the foreground are, however, very realistically done. But in the treatment of the architecture the differences from Pietro are as glaring as in the other two frescoes. Pietro uses his architecture among other things to give a certain effect of space. He relates it carefully to the spectator who is made to feel to a degree an attempt at unity with the space outside the fresco. Here the buildings and porticoes are shoved forward like cardboard stage scenery without any particular relatedness. It is a purely descriptive treatment. Note particularly the door at the left which begins parallel to the picture plane at the top and ends at right angles to it so as to accommodate the steps coming out of it.

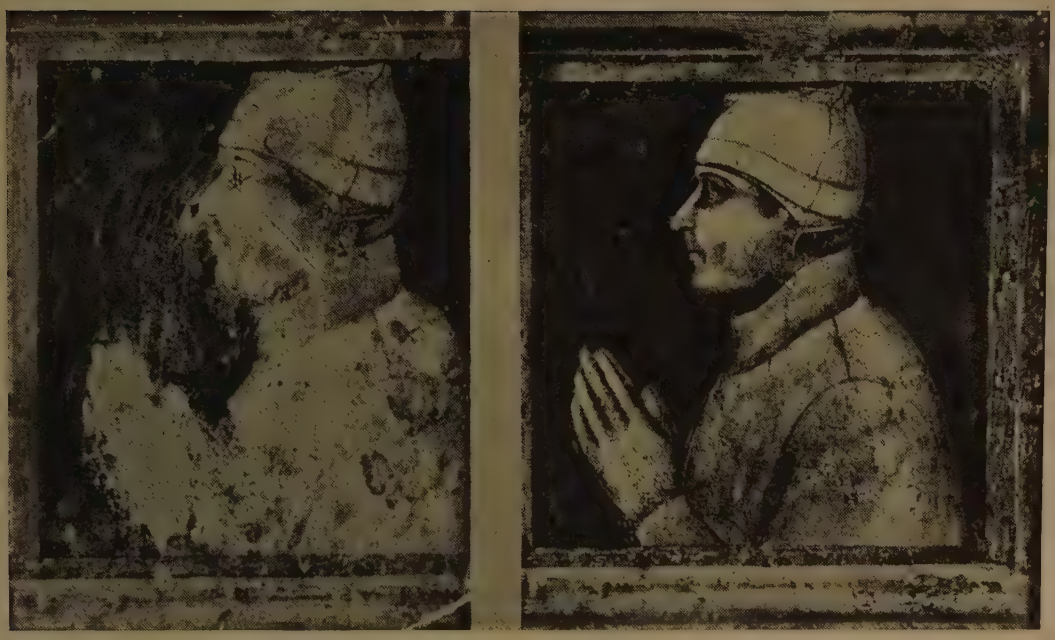
It cannot be pointed out too frequently how realistic representations, done so well by Pietro himself, were exaggerated in one detail or another by his followers. Despite his realisms, Pietro, as far as one can judge from his authenticated works, always kept within bounds. But in the hands of less capable followers these realisms lost their restraint. Compare only the stern saints of the Arezzo altarpiece with the wild, demented beings in the Assumption of St. John in the Servi.[1]

[1] Through the kindness of Mr. Felix Warburg I am reproducing in Figs. 99–100 his panels of the Madonna and Child with St. Mary Magdalen and St. Catherine. The panels are evidently of Lorenzettian derivation but they seem to lean a bit in the direction of the style of Taddeo di Bartoli. The heads are all softer and broader than Pietro's style. Much of this may of course be due to the clever retouching to which the panels have been subjected.

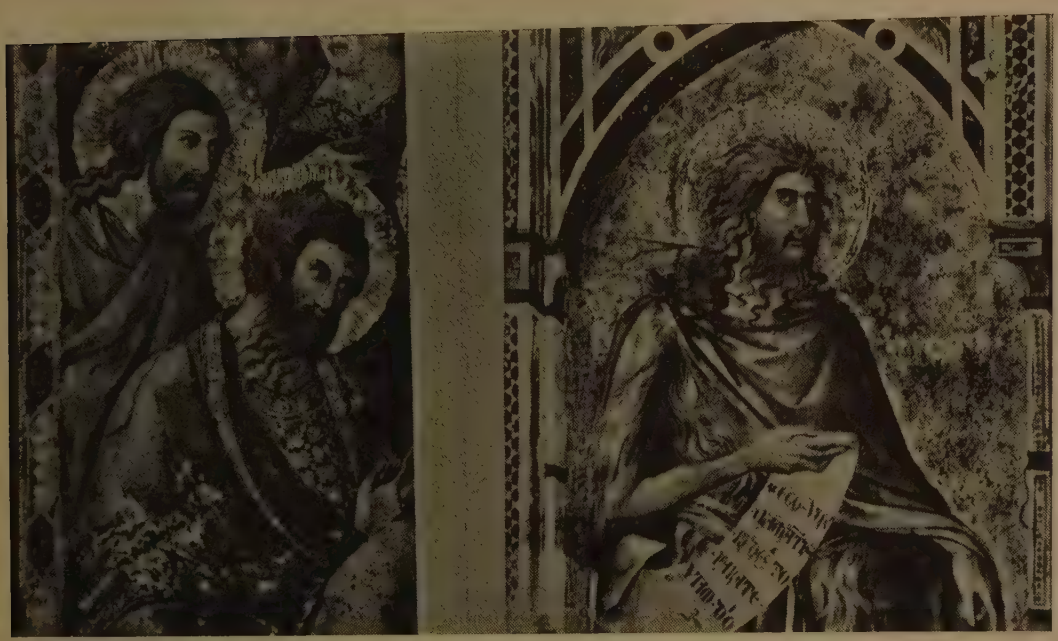


58. Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. Stigmatisation of St. Francis. Pietro Lorenzetti

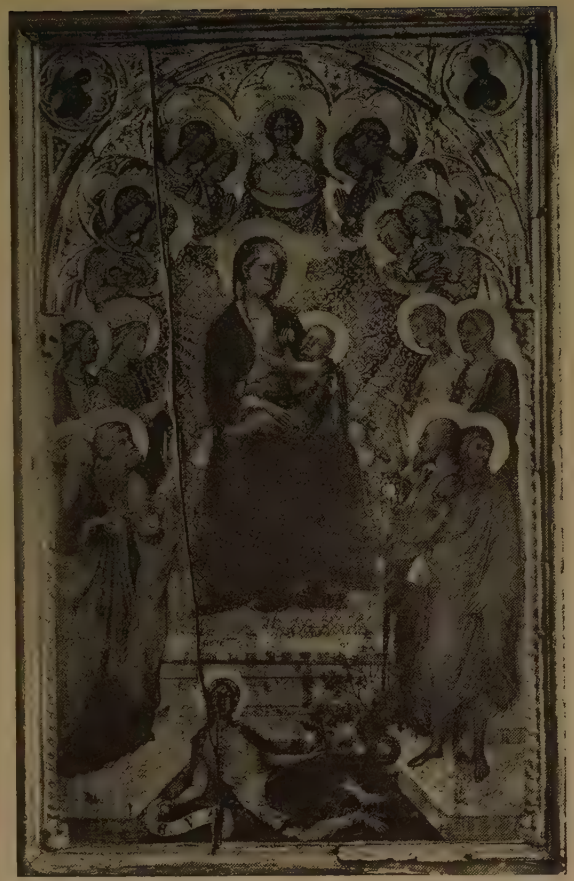
59. Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. Madonna with St. Francis and St. John the Baptist. Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti



60. Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. Detail from Madonna fresco (see fig. 25) before and after repainting



61. Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. Comparative details from the Entry into Jerusalem (left) and the Madonna fresco in the north transept chapel (right)



62. New York. Collection of Mrs. Goodhart

63. Siena. Accademia. Luca di Tomè

64. Boston Museum. Niccolo di Buonaccorso

VI

The picture of Pietro Lorenzetti's artistic personality which comes to us from his surviving works is a very clear one and indicates how definite his position is in the development of Trecento Italian painting. The generation which preceded him had broken away from the sterile traditions of the Byzantine style, and in opening the floodgates to the Gothic style had indicated in very broad lines what was to happen later. In men like Giovanni Pisano, Duccio, and Giotto, dramatic movement, decorative color, and masses emotionalized by line, and simple bulk and expressive gesture had been emphasized respectively. The second generation followed after with more detailed insistence on these pioneer accomplishments. Simone Martini showed how effective the superficial courtly contemporary French style could be made. But Pietro Lorenzetti chose another tack. He set aside all temptations toward prettification, in fact he chose homely types, and developed in them more simple and intimately human qualities. He struck the note of seriousness and poise, reinforcing it by the bulk of his figures and by their expressions. In this he approached Giotto, but worked for a more intimate result. It was this emphasis on greater intimacy of expression which led the later Sienese artists to the exaggerations which are seen in frescoes like those of the Campo Santo at Pisa.

The same more detailed interest appears in his handling of space. I have already pointed out how he developed Duccio's architectural settings into spatial units, and how his interest in this problem led him and his brother Ambrogio to the closest approximation of a perspective rendering of a background to be found in the Trecento. But it is due to this emphasis on the background for itself that the functional backgrounds of his predecessors were to develop into the descriptive and panoramic ones of the later Trecento.

Pietro stands, then, on the borderline between the earlier pioneer generation and the later decadent one and acts as a sort of balance wheel for Sienese art. For he shows how effectively decorative color and line, so dear to Sienese taste, can be wedded to expressive bulk, and how reality of form can be unified with reality of background. But after his generation came the deluge of superficial imitation wherein this achievement was momentarily swept away.

NOTE. At the request of F. Mason Perkins, I am publishing the following list of paintings which he had attributed in earlier publications to Pietro Lorenzetti, and which he no longer considers as works of the master. I received this list the moment this article was going to press.

Boston, Gardner Collection. The Madonna and saints,
Grosseto, Duomo. Madonna and Child.
Philadelphia, Johnson Collection. The panels with saints.
Rome, Vatican Gallery. No. 43. The Madonna and saints, with the Annunciation.

Siena, Accademia. No. 59. St. Gregory.
No. 61. The Assumption of the Virgin.
No. 75. An Apostle.
No. 80. The Madonna and Child and angels.
No. 92. The Allegory of the Cross.
Siena, San Pietro Ovile. Madonna and Child.
Siena, Sta. Maria dei Servi. The Massacre of the Innocents (fresco).

Mr. Perkins also rejects the attribution of the panels with the half-length saints in the Sterbini Collection at Rome which have been attributed to Pietro by Venturi and van Marle.

LIST OF WORKS BY PIETRO LORENZETTI, ACCORDING TO LOCALITY

ALTENBURG. Lindenau Museum
No. 47. Madonna and Child.
No. 48. Half-figure of the dead Christ. Signed.

AREZZO. Sta. Maria della Pieve.
On the high altar, polyptych of Madonna and Child and saints. Signed and dated 1320.

ASSISI. Church of St. Francis (Lower Church) north transept.
Madonna and Child with St. Francis and St. John the Evangelist.
The Crucifixion.
The Deposition.
The Entombment.
The Descent into Hell.
The Resurrection.
St. Francis receiving the Stigmata.

CASTIGLIONE D'ORCIA. San Stefano.
Madonna and Child.

CORTONA. Duomo.
Madonna and Child and angels.
San Marco.
Crucifix with the Virgin, St. John, and Christ Blessing.

FLORENCE. Uffizi.
Madonna and Child and angels. Signed and dated 1340.
Collection of Mr. Herbert Horne.
Three saints.
Collection of Count Serristori.
Madonna and Child.
Sta. Lucia tra le Rovinate.
Three-quarters figure of St. Lucy.
Collection of Mr. P. M. Gentner.
Pinnacle with bust of Daniel. Dated 1335.

LASTRA A SIGNA. Collection of Mr. F. M. Perkins.
Madonna and Child.
Half-figure of a female saint.

65. Ovile Master. Enthroned Madonna.
S. Pietro, Ovile, Siena

66. Ovile Master. Enthroned Madonna.
No. 76. Belle Arti, Siena

67. Ovile Master. Enthroned Madonna.
No. 80. Belle Arti, Siena

68. Ovile Master. Assumption of the Virgin. Belle Arti. Siena

69. Siena. Accademia. Detail of Assumption (61) by the Ovile Master
(Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library)

PIETRO LORENZETTI

LeMans. Museum.
St. Margaret.

Montichiello. San Leonardo e San Cristoforo.
Madonna and Child.

New York. Metropolitan Museum of Art.
Half-figure of St. Catherine.
Collection of Mr. Carl Hamilton.
Bust figures of two angels. (Formerly in the Collection of Count Ourousoff.)

Philadelphia. Johnson Collection.
Madonna and Child.

Rome. Vatican Gallery.
Half-length figures of St. Peter and St. John the Baptist.

Sant' Ansano in Dofano. House of the chapel.
Carmelite Madonna with St. Elijah and St. Nicholas. Signed and dated 1329.

Siena. Opera del Duomo.
Triptych of the Nativity of the Virgin. Signed and dated 1342.
Accademia delle Belle Arte.
Nos. 62, 64. Sts. Thaddeus, Bartholomew, Thomas, and James (bust figures).
Nos. 79, 81, 82. St. Bartholomew, St. Cecilia, and St. John the Baptist, half-length. Signed and dated 1332.
Nos. 83, 84. Predella pieces of the Carmelite altarpiece.
Nos. 578, 579. Full-length figures of St. Catherine and St. Agnes.
San Francesco.
Crucifixion in chapel to left of the sanctuary.
Risen Christ in the refectory.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST

1320. The Arezzo altarpiece.
1320–1329:
The Cortona Madonna.
The Montichiello Madonna.
The Horne saints.
The Le Mans saint.
The Cortona Crucifix.
The Johnson Madonna.
The angels in the Hamilton Collection.
The Assisi Madonna and the frescoes of Christ's Death and Resurrection, and the Stigmatization of St. Francis.
1329. The Carmelite Madonna at Sant' Ansano a Dofana.
The predella pieces from this altarpiece in the Accademia at Siena, Nos. 83–84.
1329–1332.
The diptych in the Lindenau Museum at Altenburg.
Saints Thomas, James, Thaddeus, and Bartholomew in the Accademia at Siena, Nos. 62 and 64.
1332. Saints Bartholomew, Cecilia, and John the Baptist in the Accademia at Siena, Nos. 79, 81, and 82.

PIETRO LORENZETTI

1332–1340:

St. Lucy in Sta. Lucia tra le Rovinate at Florence.
Saints Peter and John the Baptist in the Vatican Gallery.
St. Catherine in the Metropolitan Museum at New York.
Female saint in the Collection of Mr. Perkins at Lastra a Signa.
Saints Agnes and Catherine in the Accademia at Siena, Nos. 578–579.
The Daniel pinnacle in the Collection of Mr. Gentner at Florence, 1335.
The Crucifixion in San Francesco, Siena.
The fresco of the Risen Christ in the refectory of San Francesco at Siena.

1340. The Madonna in the Uffizi, Florence.

1342. The Nativity of the Virgin in the Opera del Duomo at Siena.

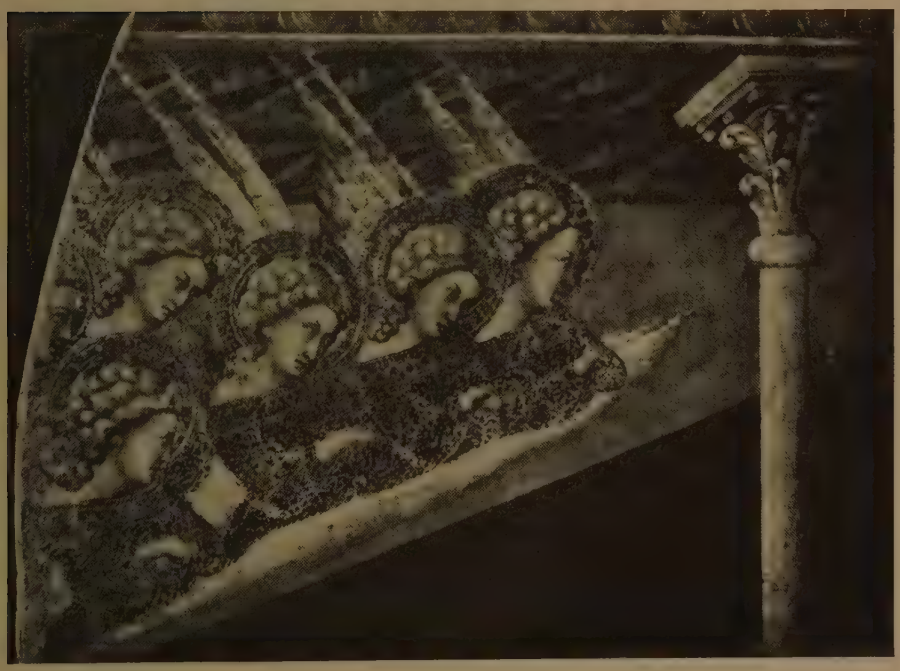
Belonging to this later period:

The Madonna at St. Stefano at Castiglione d'Orcia.
The Madonna in the Collection of Mr. Perkins at Lastra a Signa.
The Madonna in the Collection of Count Serristori at Florence.

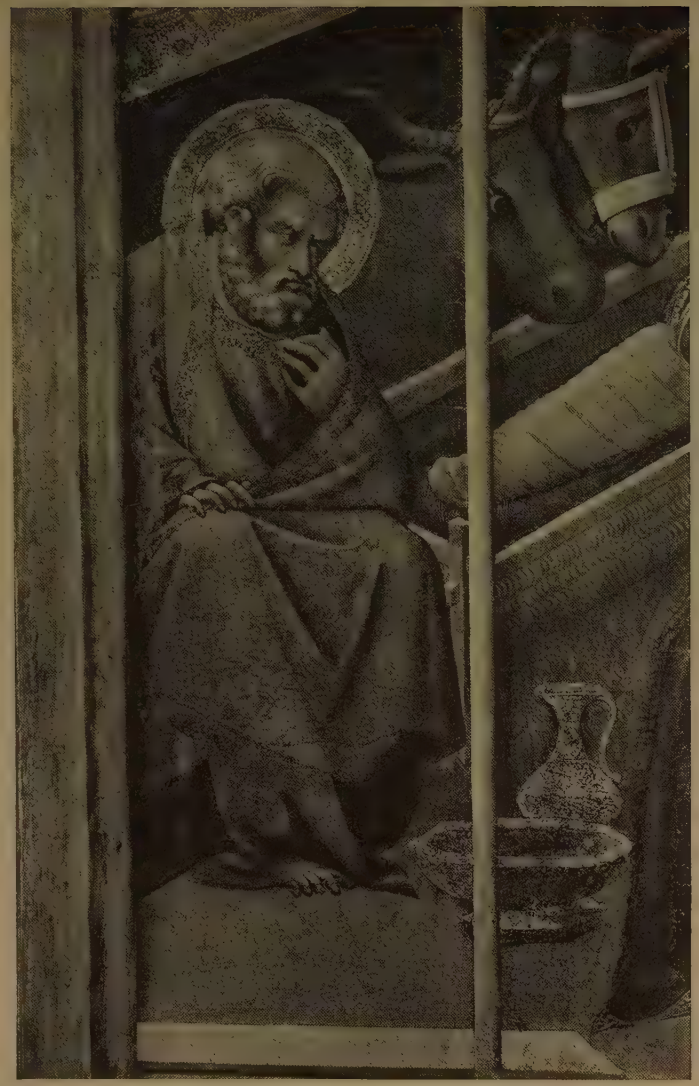
The following is a secondary list of paintings which have been attributed to Pietro Lorenzetti at one time or another. Many of them now bear other attributions.

Baltimore, Henry Walters Collection, St. Lucy, Madonna and Saints.
Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum (no. 1091), now in the storeroom.
Budapest, Gallery, Madonna and Child (no. 44).
Casole, Collegiata, Madonna and Child in fresco.
In the former Achillito Chiesa Collection.
A small Crucifixion (no. 12 in the sale catalogue, vol. II).
A kneeling St. Magdalen (no. 23).
A large triptych of the Madonna and Child with Saints Peter and Paul (no. 48).
Citta di Castello, Galleria del Commune, Madonna and Child.
Florence, Uffizi, Thebaid (no. 16).
Göttingen, University Art Museum, four panels of the Passion.
Gubbio, Museo Civico, Madonna and Child.
London, former Fairfax Murray Collection.
Crucifixion, now in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass.
A Madonna and Child, now in the Carl Hamilton Collection(?), New York.
Milan, Collection of Conte Guido Cagnole, Madonna and Child.
Paris, Louvre, Madonna and Child (no. 196).
Pisa, Campo Santo, frescoes of the Triumph of Death, and the Thebaid.
Triptych in former Toscanelli Collection.
Princeton, N. J., Collection of Frank J. Mather, Jr., Crucifixion. (Fig. 86)
Rapolano, Corpus Christi, Madonna and Child.
Rome, sacristy of St. Peter's, missal.
Vatican Gallery, stories from the life of Saint Lawrence (nos. 30–37).
Siena, Accademia delle Belle Arti (nos. 18, 51, 75, 90, 147).
Colegio Tolomei, frescoes.
Opera del Duomo, small Crucifixion.
Eight panels with stories from the legend of the Holy Cross.
Palazzo Pubblico, Sala di Passagio, Annunciation.
San Francesco, a polyptych in fresco.
Altarpiece in the chapel to the right of the choir.
Spedale, frescoes.

70. Siena. Accademia. Detail of Assumption (61). Ovile Master
(Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library)



71. Cambridge. Fogg Museum. Detail of Nativity. Ovile Master
(Courtesy of Fogg Art Museum)

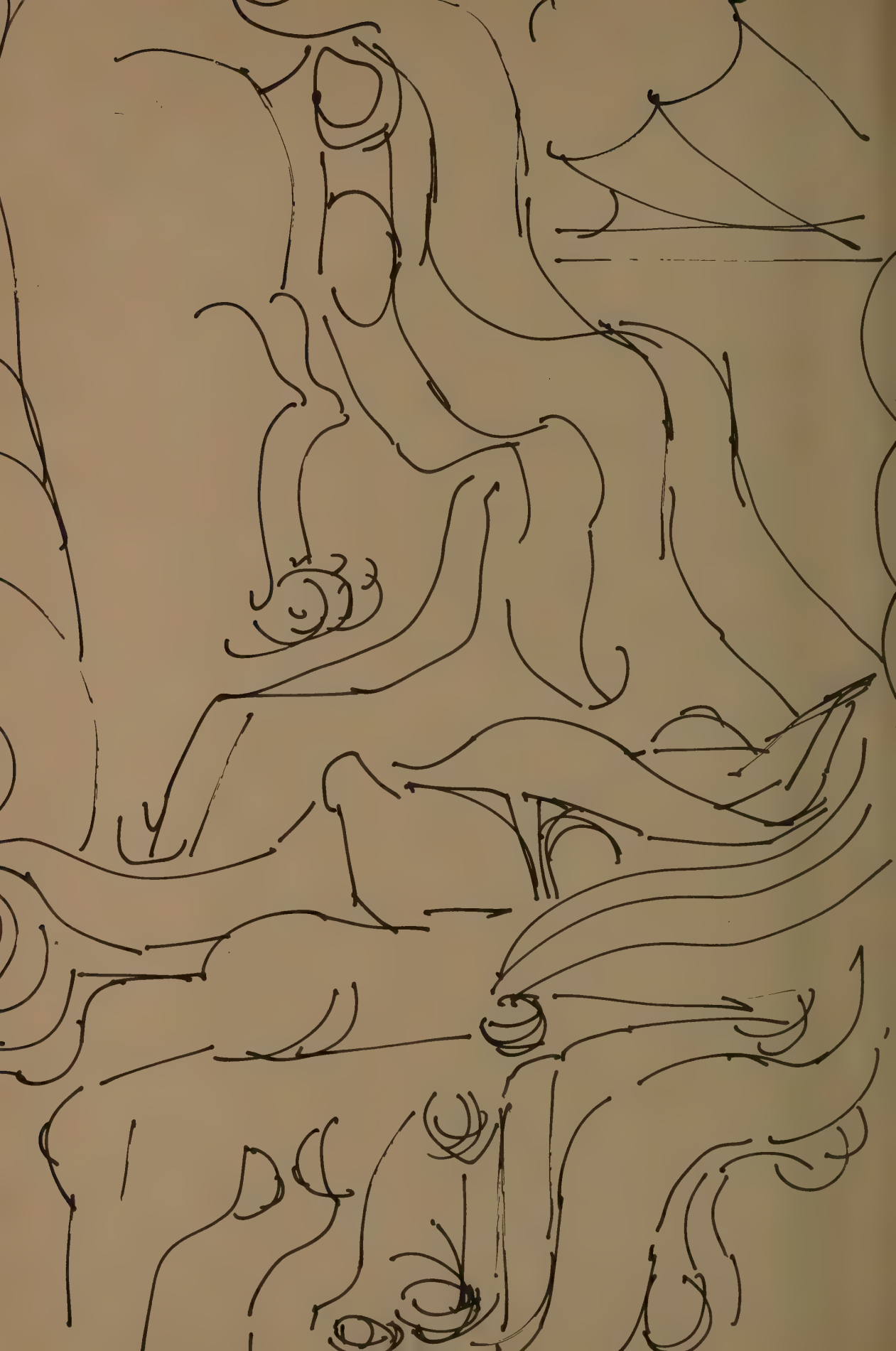


72. Cambridge. Fogg Museum. Detail from The Nativity. Ovile Master

73. Cambridge. Fogg Museum. Detail from The Nativity. Ovile Master

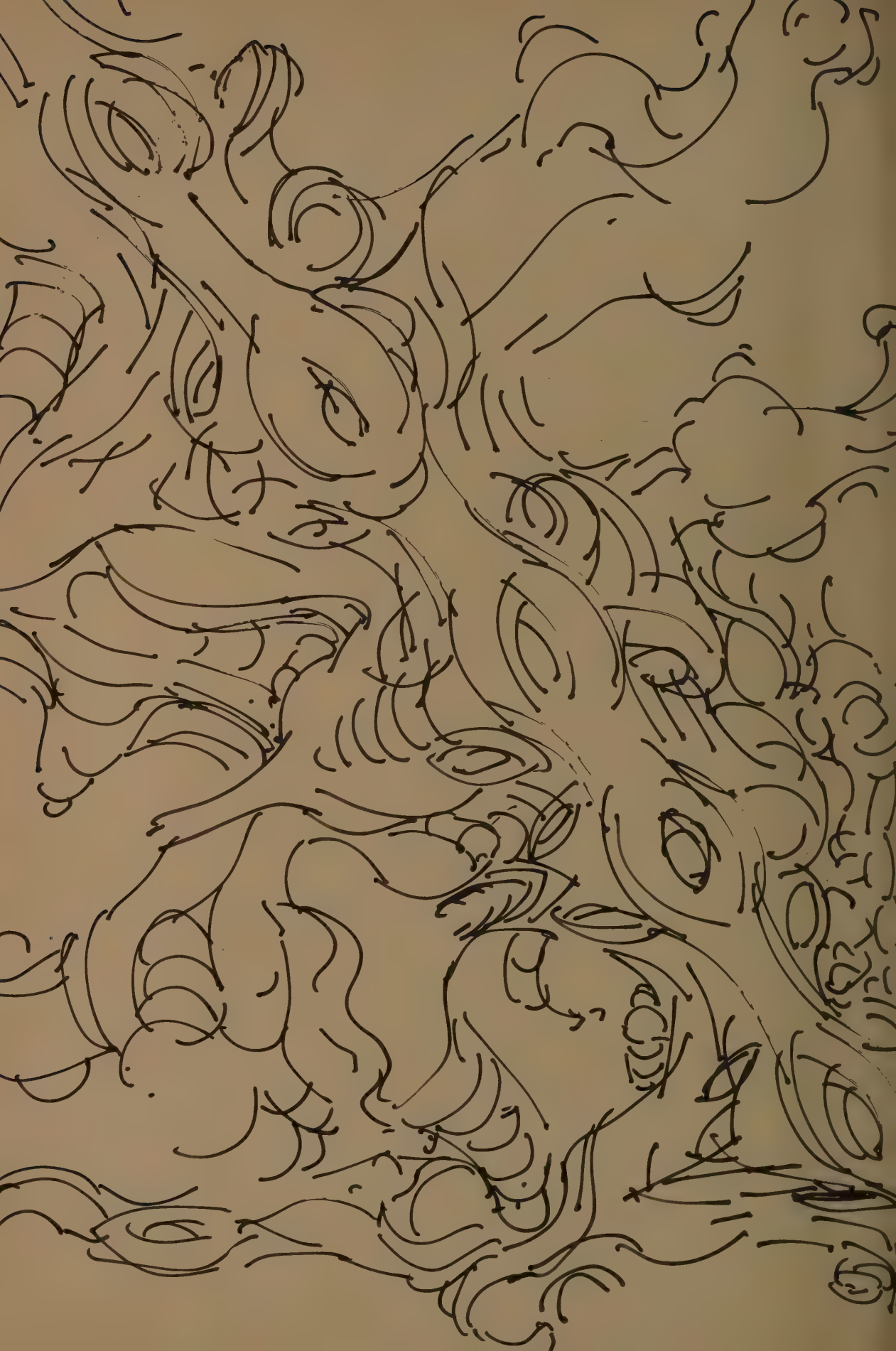
(Courtesy of Fogg Art Museum)

74. Milan. Poldi Pezzoli. Madonna and Saints
Master of the Dijon triptych

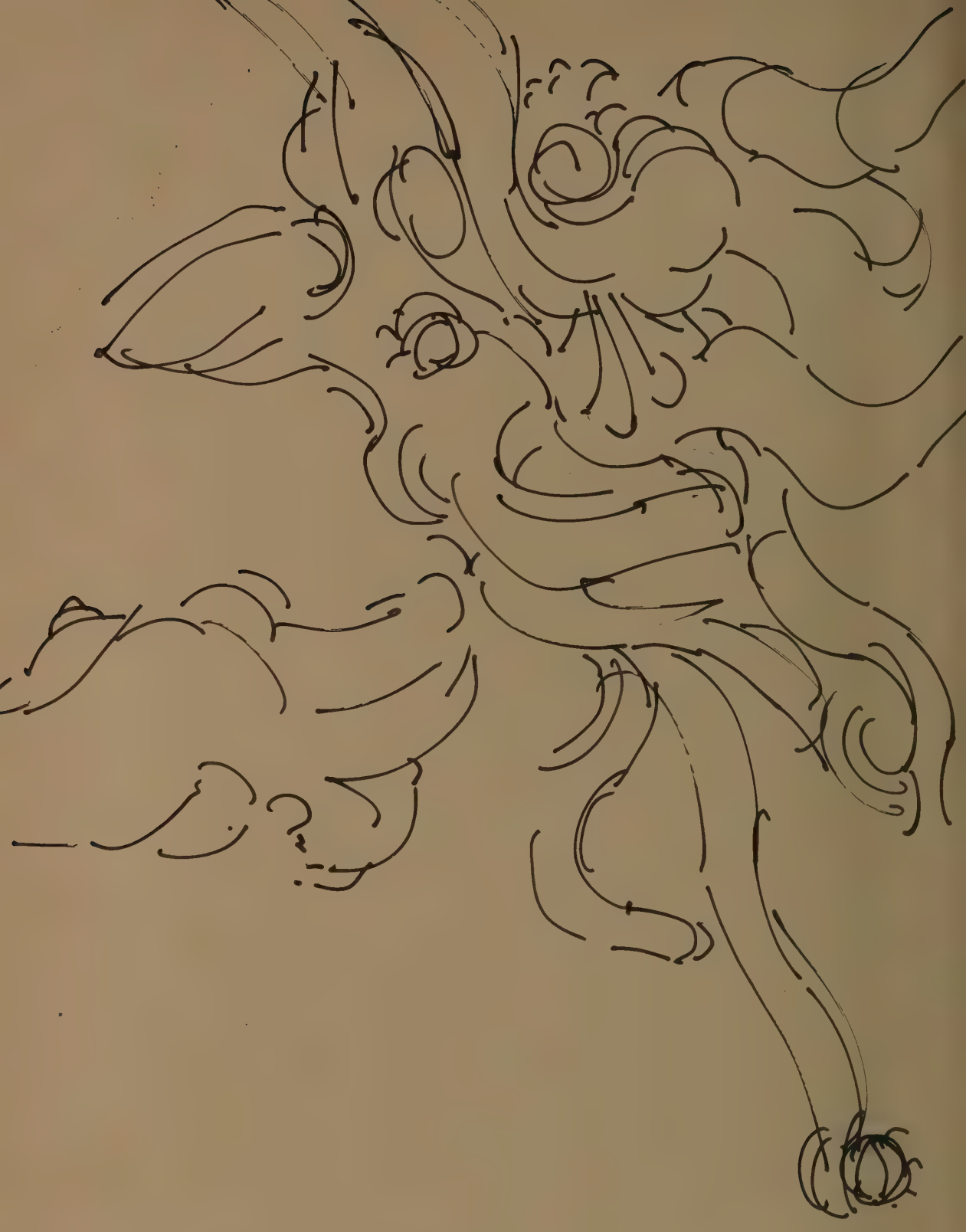


75. Siena. Accademia. Paolo di Giovanni Fei

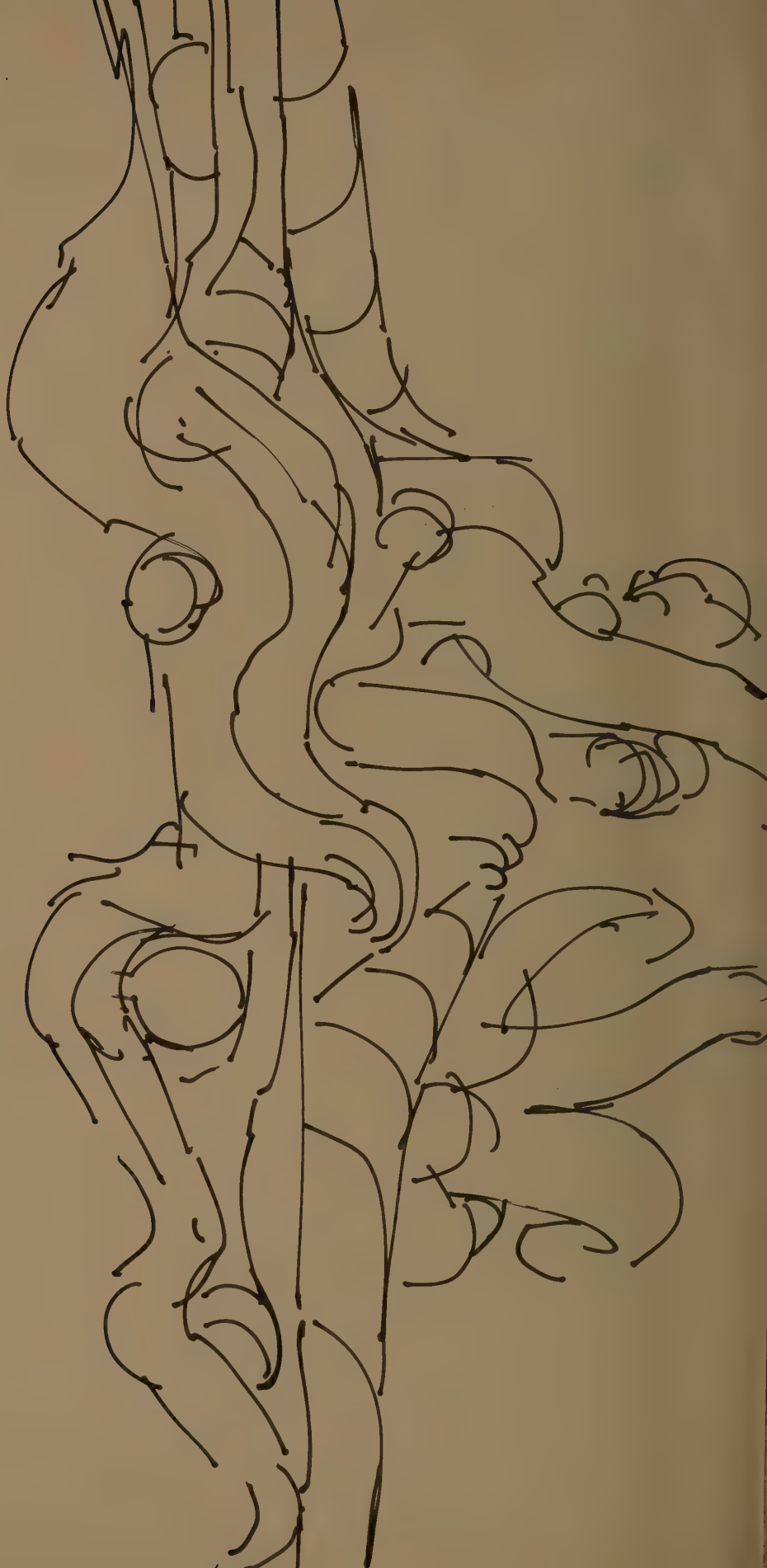
76. Perugia. Pinacoteca



77. Dijon. Museum. Triptych. Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti



78. Dijon. Museum. Detail. Madonna and Saints. Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti

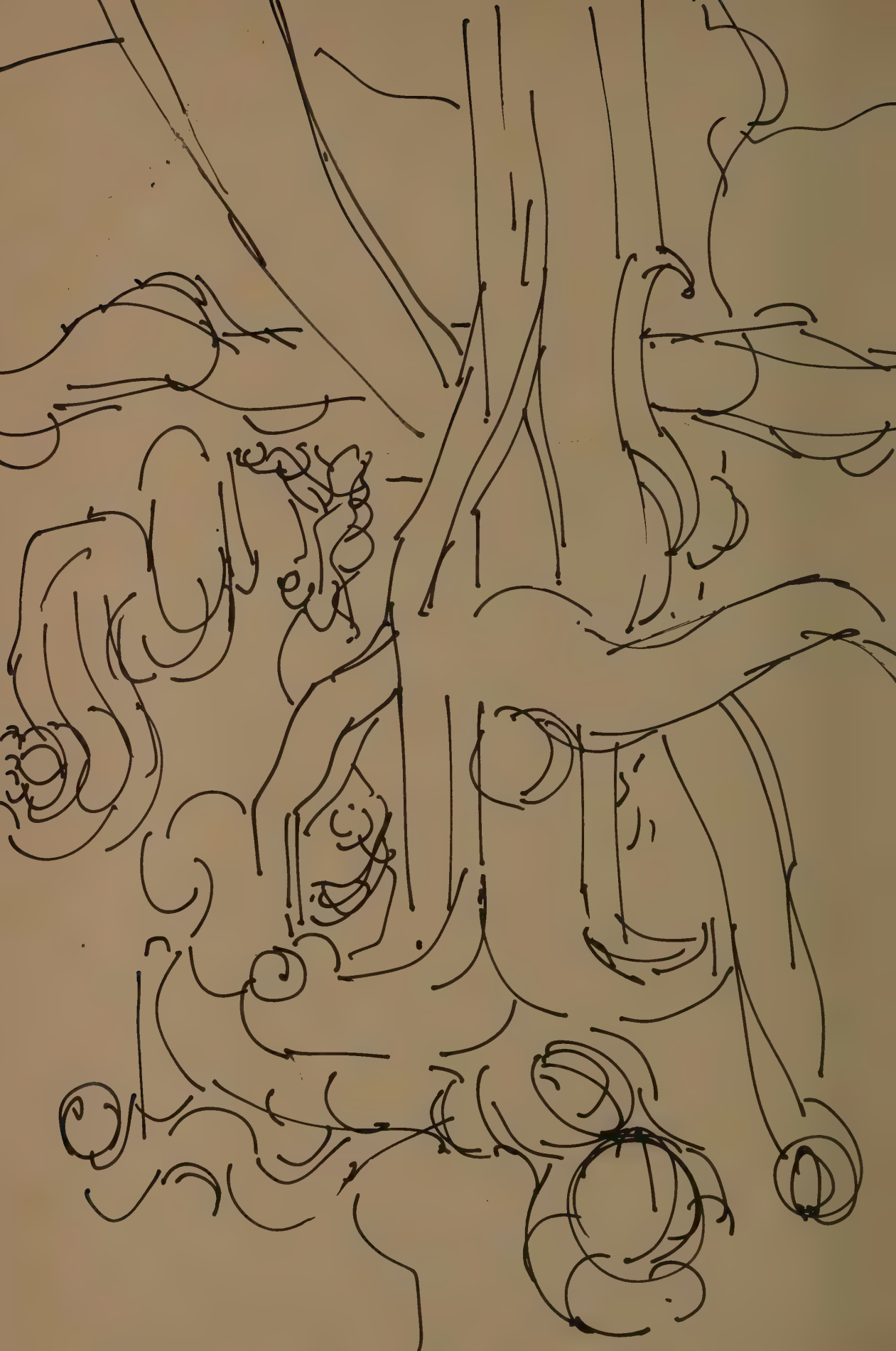


79. Dijon. Museum. Triptych, left wing, Gabriel, St. Christopher and Christ Child. Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti

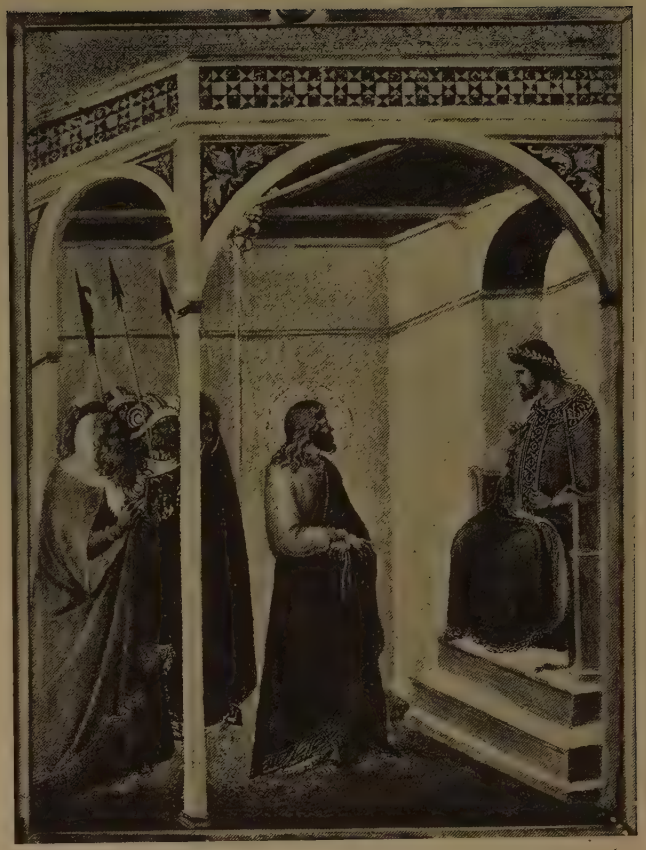
80. Dijon. Museum. Triptych, right wing, The Virgin Annunciate, and The Crucifixion, Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti

81. Settignano. Berenson Collection
Madonna and Child.
Master of the Dijon triptych

82. Florence. Loeser Collection. Madonna and Child
Master of the Dijon triptych

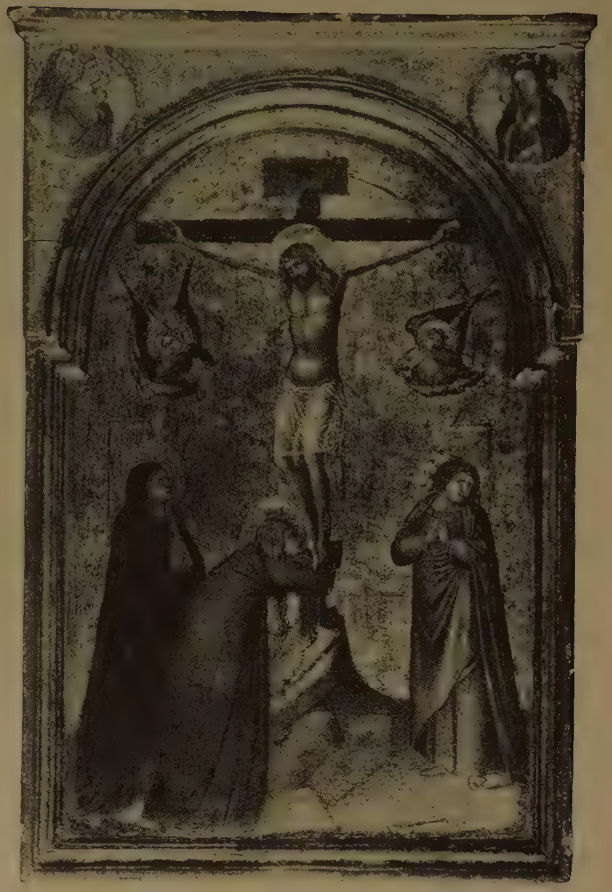


83. London. National Gallery. Christian saints before a Roman tribunal
Master of the Dijon triptych

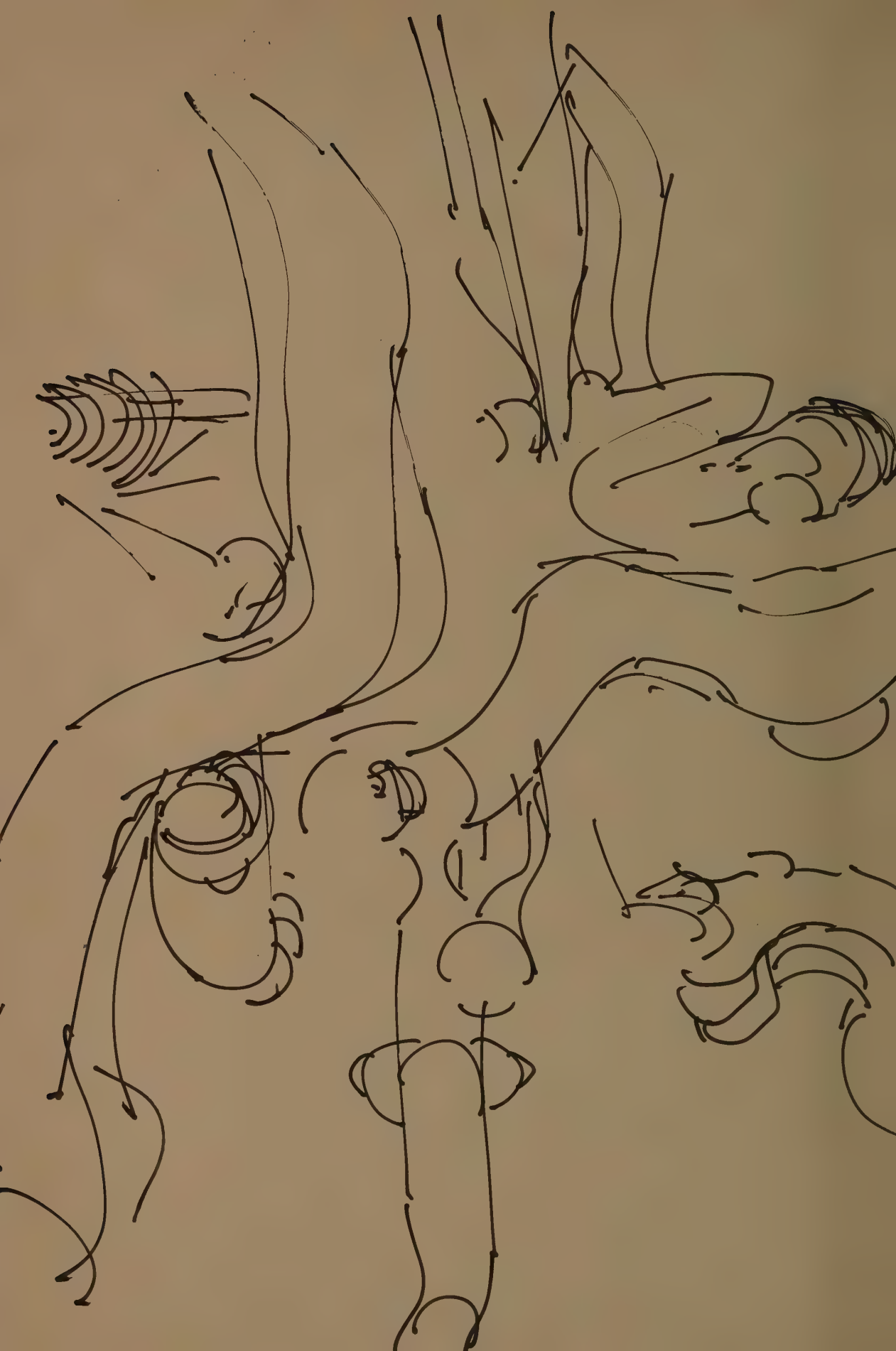


84. Rome. Vatican Gallery. Christ before Pilate
Master of the Dijon triptych

85. Münster in Westphalia, University Museum. Master of the Dijon triptych
(Courtesy of Dr. Adolph Goldschmidt, Berlin)



86. Princeton. Collection of F. J. Mather, Jr.
Bottega of the Dijon master (?)
(Courtesy of Dr. F. J. Mather, Jr.)

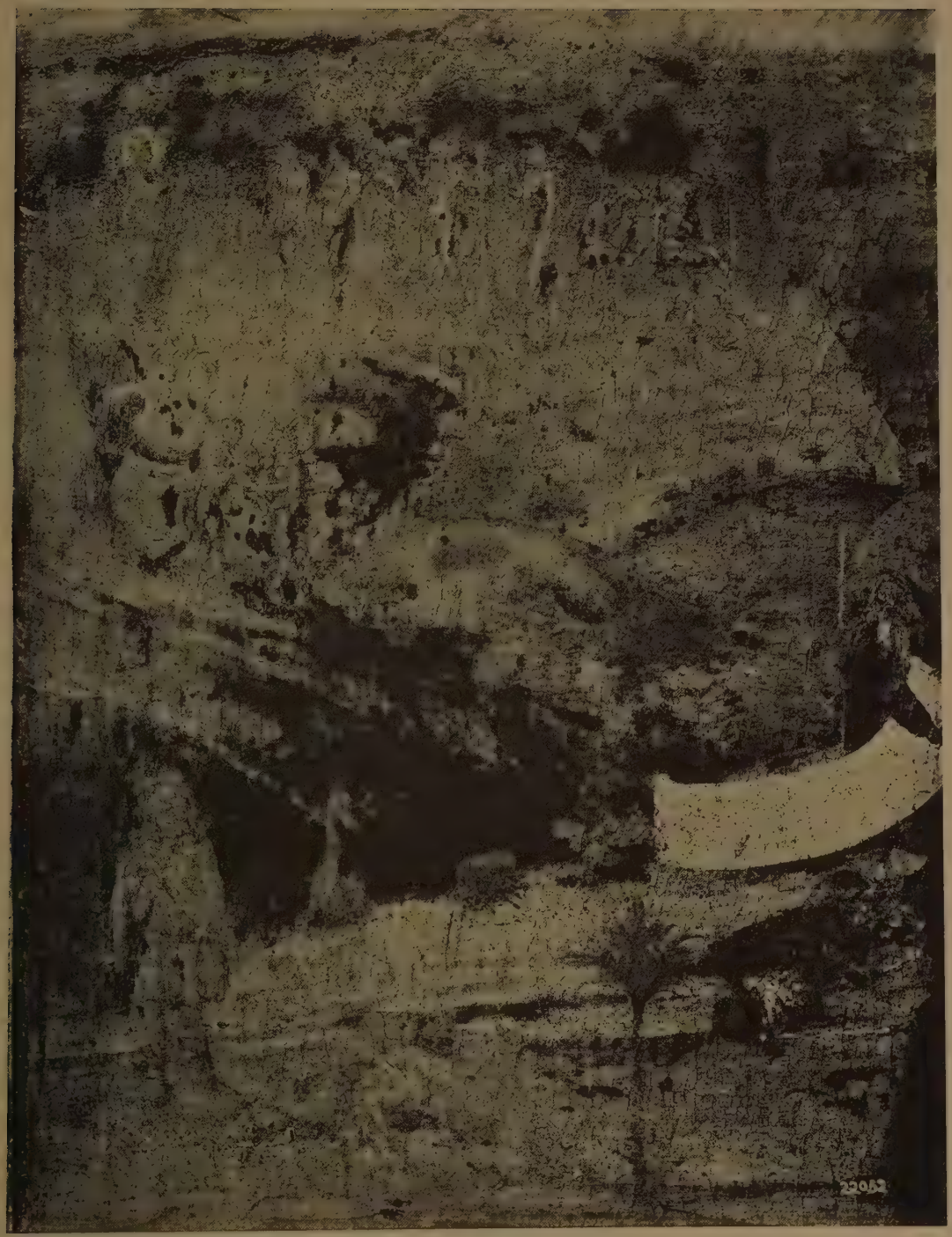


87. Florence. Uffizi. Altarpiece of the Beata Umiltà

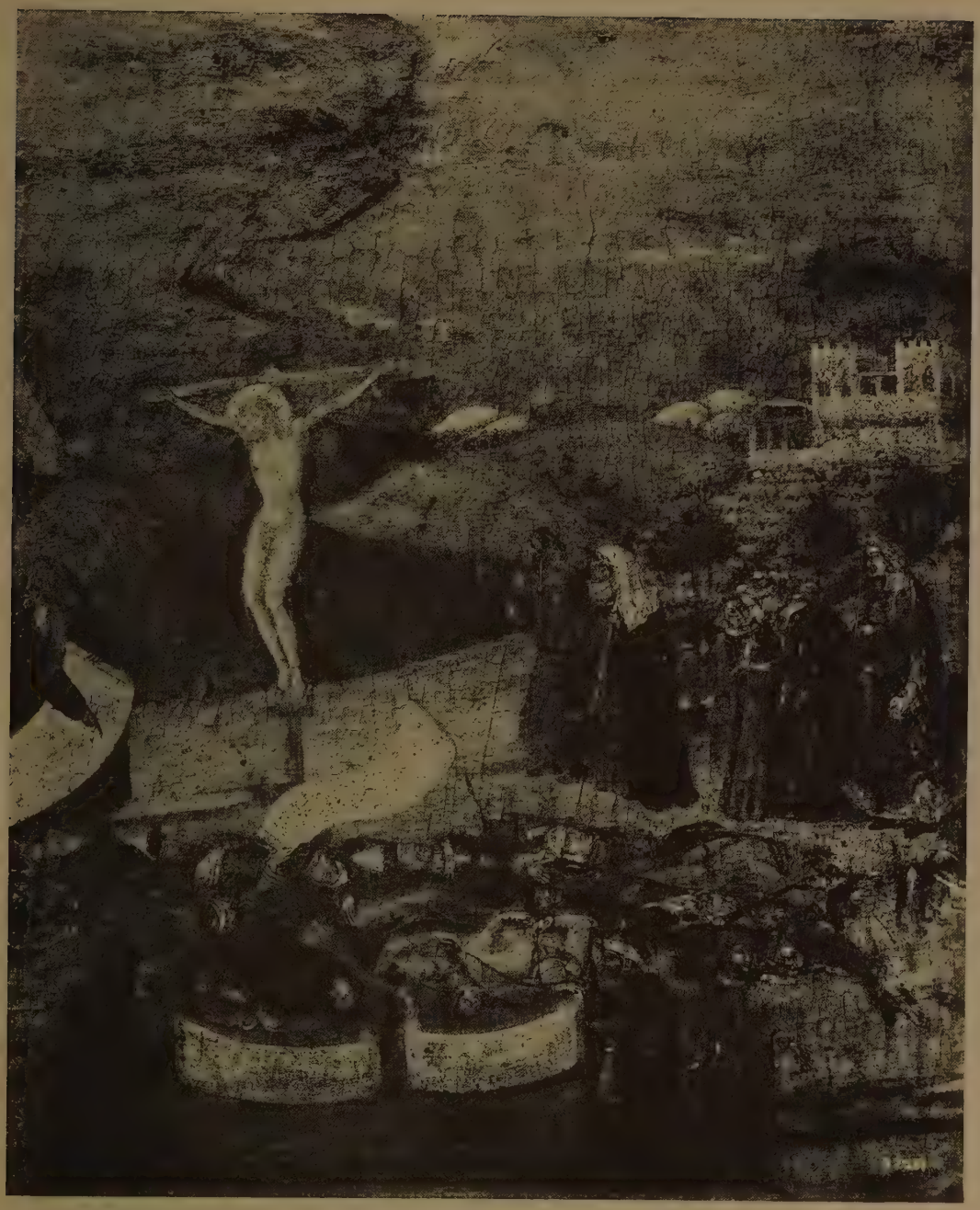
88. Berlin. Kaiser Friedrich Museum. Panel from Umiltà altarpiece, Florence

89. Berlin. Kaiser Friedrich Museum. Panel from Umiltà altarpiece, Florence

90. Siena. Accademia, 92. Allegory of the Cross



91. Siena. Accademia, 92. Detail showing Creation and Expulsion scenes, and murder of Abel
(Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library)



92. Siena. Accademia, 92. Detail
(Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library)

93. Siena. Accademia, 92. Detail with abbreviated Last Judgment
(Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library)

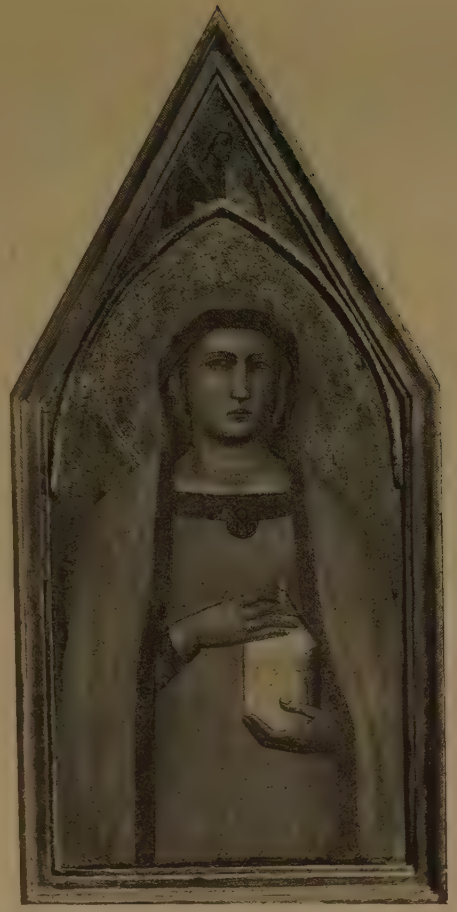
94. Siena. Accademia. View of a city

95. Siena. Accademia. View of a country estate

96. Siena. Sta. Maria dei Servi. Dance of Salome

97. Siena. Sta. Maria dei Servi. Assumption of St. John the Evangelist

98. Siena. Sta. Maria dei Servi. Slaughter of the Innocents



99. New York. Collection of Felix Warburg. Triptych. St. Mary Magdalen

100. New York. Collection of Felix Warburg. Triptych. Madonna and Child

101. New York. Collection of Felix Warburg. Triptych. St. Catherine

(Courtesy of Mr. Felix Warburg)